सत्यमेव जयते

Tuesday
17 February, 1953

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

OFFICIAL REPORT

PARLIAMENT SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI

Price Six Annas (Inland)
Price Two Shillings (Foreign)

Gazettes & Debates Section
Parliament Library Building
Room No. FB-025
Block 'G'
Acc. No. 25107
Dated 21.11.2014

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part I—Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Tuesday, 17th February, 1953

The House met at Two of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

IRANIAN PRESS DELEGATION

*92. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether the party of five Iranian Newspaper editors which has come to India was invited by the Government of India?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): Yes.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Will necessary steps be taken by the Government to arrange adequate transmission of Indian news to Iran and *vice versa* for fostering Indo-Iranian relationship?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): That is a matter for the other side to take up if they are interested. We cannot thrust our people anywhere.

BHAKRA-NANGAL PROJECT

*93. **Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Will the Minister of **Irrigation and Power** be pleased to state:

(a) whether certain contractors of the Bhakra-Nangal works are alleged to have misappropriated Government funds;

(b) if so, how much money are they alleged to have embezzled and under what circumstances; and

(c) whether the Police have taken any steps in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). The amount involved is not known at present. The cases are under investigation by the State Police authorities.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: May I know whether any officials have connived in this embezzlement?

Shri Hathi: It may be. We have not been able to spot out any particular official, as yet.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: May I know what action has been taken against these officials? Have they been suspended?

Shri Hathi: The matter is still under investigation.

Shri Achuthan: May I know whether this money has been taken after the work has been inspected by the Department concerned?

Shri Hathi: The money had been paid after the bills were passed, naturally.

Shri A. C. Guha: Is there any ground to suspect that some of the officers also were involved in these illegal transactions?

Shri Hathi: Probably, the matter is still under investigation.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: May I know when the enquiry will be over?

Shri Hathi: The first information was received only in December. It might take some more weeks.

Shri A. M. Thomas: May I know whether the Government proposes to introduce the revised procedure with regard to accounting and mechanism of financial control recommended by the Mazumdar Committee which enquired into the Hirakud Project?

Shri Hathi: This is regarding the Bhakra-Nangal project, and it is for the Punjab Government to consider.

Shri Velayudhan: May I know how many contractors are involved in it and whether they had deposited any earnest money before taking this contract?

Shri Hathi: The number of contractors at present, so far as information is available, is two. Further information may be available after the complete investigation is over.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether the estimates of this project also like those of other projects would go up as a result of this embezzlement?

Shri Hathi: I think it has no relevancy with this question.

Shri A. V. Thomas: I want to know whether the revised procedure for similar projects will not be introduced in this project also?

Shri Hathi: That is the concern of the Bhakra Control Board.

Shri Nambiar: May I know whether in the execution of every project, there is an embezzlement?

Shri K. Subrahmanyam: May I know whether an Enquiry Committee has been appointed to enquire into the corruption charges in the Bhakra-Nangal Project?

Shri Hathi: No, Sir.

Shri K. K. Basu: The Central Government contributes a large amount towards this project. Have they got any control over the accounting, etc.?

Shri Hathi: There are representatives of the Central Government on the Board.

ISSUE OF MIGRATION CERTIFICATES

*94. **Shri B. K. Das:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of migration certificates so far issued to intending migrants from East Bengal;

(b) from how many offices the certificates are issued; and

(c) whether any intending migrant, at any stage, has to satisfy the Pakistan authorities as to his *bona fides* as a migrant?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) 6,725 till the 31st January, 1953.

(b) In East Bengal only by the office of the Deputy High Commissioner for India at Dacca.

(c) No. Freedom of movement to migrants is provided for under the Delhi Pact of April 1950 and a migrant is therefore not required to obtain permission to migrate from the country of his origin.

Shri B. K. Das: In view of the answer to part (c) of the question, May I know whether any intending migrant has to prove his *bona fides* as to his intending migration to this country?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): No, Sir. He has not to prove that but a certain question has arisen as to whether advantage might be taken of this migration clause by offenders who want to escape from justice. That is an entirely different question and that has been considered by our Government. Migrants as such, have not to take any permission.

Shri B. K. Das: As soon as any intending migrant makes an application then have not the authorities to satisfy themselves about his *bona fides* as to his coming to this country?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Which authorities?

Shri B. K. Das: Authorities there in Dacca.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The question of whether he is a *bona fide* migrant as such does not arise but the question has been raised whether he is not an offender of some other kind and under cover of migration, he may take advantage of it. Therefore, the question has been considered as to how to distinguish that and whether any kind of notice might be necessary.

Shri B. K. Das: In view of the fact that there is only one office in Dacca for issuing certificates, and more offices are necessary, may I know whether this question was discussed during the conference?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It was discussed at length and certain matters are being considered.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know if the Government have got any idea as to the number of Muslim migrants who have taken migration certificates from India during that period?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have not got the break-up of the figures. At least I have not got them here. We have got figures, of course, daily, weekly and monthly of the number of people who have gone from East Pakistan to West Bengal or from West Bengal to East Bengal. That we have got.

Shri A. C. Guha: That also ceased after the passport system. The hon. Minister stated the figure of Hindu migrants coming this side but is there any figure of Muslims taking migration certificates from this side to Pakistan?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Undoubtedly there is. I have not got it here because the question did not ask that but I have, as a matter of fact, only yesterday seen the figures of Muslims as well as Hindus travelling from West Bengal to East Bengal and *vice versa*. Those figures we have. I cannot precisely say which of them is a migrant or not.

Shri A. C. Guha: Any approximate idea as to the proportion of the two figures?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Migrants or travellers?

Shri A. C. Guha: Migrants.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I can give you the proportion of the travellers with passports, etc. I have naturally to speak from memory. In the first week of October, the hon. Member must know, there was a fairly considerable number of people who came over from East Bengal to West Bengal just before the passport system was introduced. A fair number also went the other way. In November the figures were more or less even but rather there were more people going to East Bengal. In December, there were many more people going to East Bengal, both Hindus and Muslims and so also in January. The figures roughly would be about 30 or 40 per cent. more going to East Bengal or West Bengal, both Hindus and Muslims in the last two months of December and January.

Shri B. K. Das: May I know how many more offices would be necessary to facilitate granting of certificates to intending migrants here?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I really do not know whether any more difficulty has arisen, from our side I mean. There have been difficulties in issuing *visas* which is a different thing. Both sides are opening fresh offices for giving *visas*

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know the conditions which an intending emigrant has to satisfy in order to receive an emigrant certificate?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: No conditions are necessary. He has only to apply to our Deputy High Commissioner and in due course an emigrant certificate will be given.

PRODUCTION IN SINDRI FACTORY

*95. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Minister of Production be pleased to state:

(a) the total production up to the end of 1952 in the Sindri Fertilizer Factory;

(b) the cost of production and how it compares with the price of foreign fertilizer, specially of Japan; and

(c) the price at which the Sindri fertilizer is given to the peasants in different States?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) 1,79,964 tons of Ammonium Sulphate.

(b) I regret I am not in a position to give the production cost as it is a confidential matter, but I may assure the hon. Member that the price of Rs. 310 per ton at which the Sindri Fertilizers and Chemicals Ltd. sell at present their fertilizer to the Central Fertilizer Pool compares favourably with the selling price in almost all other producing countries. It has been ascertained that the internal selling price in Japan is Rs. 350 per ton the normal export price being Rs. 336 per ton.

(c) The Sindri fertilizer is not supplied at a different price but is contributed to the pool at a uniform price of Rs. 310 per ton. The pool price is at present Rs. 335 per ton F.O.R. Station of despatch

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know if there is a large stock accumulated with the factory and, if so, what is the machinery for disposal?

Shri K. C. Reddy: On the 7th of this month, the stock was in the neighbourhood of about 80,000 tons. Subsequently, the stock has been reduced. Large scale movement of fertiliser has commenced from the 7th and the present stock is roundabout 70,000 tons. Distribution is through the Central Fertiliser Pool, operated by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. They get indents from the respective State Governments and from certain other interests like Tea Plantation people and the Coffee Board etc. They pass on the indents to the Sindri Fertiliser Factory and on the basis of these allocations, the Sindri Fertiliser Factory arranges movement.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know the reasons for this large quantity accumulating?

Shri K. C. Reddy: There are several reasons. Unfortunately during this year and at the end of the last year, the demand was not sufficient from the various States, and from the Tea Plantations, etc. The crisis in the tea industry, perhaps the lack of purchasing power on the part of the farmers, insufficiency of credit facilities, drought in certain areas, particularly in Madras and certain other States,—all these reasons have contributed to the decrease in the off-take of the fertiliser. But, steps have been taken by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture to popularise the use of this fertiliser. There has recently been a proposal to supply fertilisers on a barter basis, that is, to supply fertiliser and take back rice. This is being finalised now. After this is finalised, it is hoped that the production in our country will be sufficient for our requirements.

Shri T. N. Singh: Is it true that during this year we have imported large quantities of fertilisers from abroad also?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Not so much during this year. Last year we imported about two lakh tons of fertiliser. This year we are committed to import about one lakh tons. This is under a previous arrangement with the T.C.A.; it is not a new arrangement which we are entering into freshly. According to the old arrangement we have got to import about one lakh tons this year out of which about 25 tons have come through the T.C.A., —Japanese fertiliser. We are making every effort to see whether we cannot replace this fertiliser which we are importing by some other commodity with the T.C.A. aid. It is too early to say whether we will succeed in that effort of ours.

Shri T. N. Singh: In view of the fact that the Sindri Fertiliser Factory was to go into production even earlier than 1952, was any account taken of this factor in entering into the T.C.A. agreement?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Yes, certainly. Our estimate of consumption of fertiliser according to the Planning Commission and according to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture is 450,000 tons during this year, going up in 1955-56 to 6 lakh and odd tons. The output in the Sindri Fertiliser Factory is only in the neighbourhood of three lakh tons, and in the other indigenous factories about 50,000 or 60,000 tons.

Shrimati A. Kale: What is the price of the imported fertiliser per ton?

Shri K. C. Reddy: The cost of the imported fertiliser varies. At one time, the landed cost was Rs. 480 per ton. Subsequently, there has been a reduction and the international market price has gone down. Even now, the landed cost of the fertiliser that we are getting from abroad is higher than the pool price that we have fixed, except in the case of the consignment of the Japanese fertiliser which we have got through the T.C.A. That particular consignment has been sold to us at Rs. 240 per ton. That is under very exceptional circumstances. There are several reasons why the Japanese fertiliser has been made available to us at, what I may say, a "sacrificial price".

Shri Gopala Rao: May I know whether the Government are taking into account the important factor, the purchasing capacity of the peasants while fixing the price of fertilisers?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I have not caught the question. Will the hon. Member kindly repeat the question?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member wants to know if the purchasing power of the peasant has been taken into consideration in fixing the price.

Shri K. C. Reddy: I should say; yes.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Has the attention of the Minister been drawn to Press reports to the effect that certain workers in an organisation called Gandhi Nidhi. Working at Borivilli near Bombay, have said that the ammonium sulphate produced at Sindri is not at all useful for the purpose for which it is intended, that it burns cereals and that it is useful only in the case of leafy plants?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Kidwai): This fertiliser is being used for several years and it has proved successful.

Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy: May I know whether there are certain private firms which are producing fertilisers, and the cost of production there is far lower than the cost of production in Sindri and also they quote a lesser price than the Government price?

Shri Kidwai: I think the hon. Member does not know what he is talking about. There is only one private factory which is producing fertiliser, at Alwaye. Their cost of production is much higher and therefore they have approached us to introduce the pool so that the price may be adjusted. There are one or two Iron and Steel Works which are producing it as a by-product. There, the cost is a little lower because it is not the main product.

Shrimati Sushama Sen: May I know whether the contract is irrevocable and obligatory?

Shri Kidwai: Which contract?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: With the T.C.A.

Shri Kidwai: Through the T.C.A. we are getting this free, and we can refuse it. But, really our consumption must be much higher than it is today. As the hon. Minister has stated, we were expecting the consumption to be 4½ lakh tons this year. Then, the Sindri production and this would have sufficed. We are trying to see that this year the use of fertiliser is increased to the extent it is available.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know the gap between the price at which the factory gives the fertiliser to the pool and the price at which the agriculturists take it?

Shri Kidwai: The pool price is Rs. 315; the Sindri price is Rs. 310.

Shri A. C. Guha: Am I to understand that just at that pool price the peasants get the fertiliser?

Shri Kidwai: Yes. The cultivators get the fertiliser at the pool price plus Railway freight.

Shri K. C. Reddy: Plus incidental charges.

Shri Altekar: May I know whether the quality of our fertiliser is as good as that of any fertiliser from foreign countries?

Shri Kidwai: Let us hope so.

Shri K. K. Basu: May we know what proportion of the total consumption is consumed by the actual cultivator?

Shri Kidwai: I hope it is not used by others. It is always used by the cultivator.

Shri Velayudhan: May I know whether, in view of the diminishing demand from the purchasers, there is any proposal for diminishing production?

Shri Kidwai: No. The more we produce, the lower will be the price and readily acceptable to the cultivator.

Shri Jhunjhunwala: Is it only the pool price plus the freight which the peasant is charged, or are there some other incidental expenses also?

Shri Kidwai: Other incidental charges are there, and therefore each State Government is trying to reduce this as much as possible, and I hope we will succeed to a great extent.

Shri Jhunjhunwala: What is it at present?

Shri Kidwai: It is different in different States. For instance, the railway freight, I understand, from Sindhri to Bombay is Rs. 50 and that the internal distribution and freight and commission to the seller and all that, it comes to Rs. 80 in Bombay. In Bengal, I think it is about Rs. 50 and they are trying to reduce it. So it is different in different States.

Shri Jhunjhunwala: I want to know what are the commission charges and other incidental charges apart from freight. Freight is a thing which cannot be reduced.

Shri Kidwai: That information will be available with the States. We pass on to each State its requirements, and then they arrange distribution.

Shri G. P. Sinha: What is the present rate of production per day? Has there been any marked improvement?

Shri Kidwai: It is more than what we had estimated as the capacity. Just at present, it produces more than 1,000 tons a day.

SUPPLY OF COAL TO INDUSTRIES

***96. Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state:

(a) whether there has been any kind of difficulty last year in supplying coal to the industries;

(b) whether Government have asked the industries to use oil as far as possible and not to switch over to coal; and

(c) the reason for this difficulty last year?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) No; except in the case of industries situated in areas where transport is difficult.

(b) No; but industries were warned, in their own interest, that before they effected any changes in processes involving increased coal consumption (*e.g.* change over from furnace oil to coal) they should first ascertain from the Coal Commissioner whether it would be possible to meet the increased demand for coal.

(c) Does not arise.

Shri A. M. Thomas: May I enquire whether production of coal has fallen from the record figure of 34 million tons in 1951-52?

Shri K. C. Reddy: No, it has not fallen. It has gone up on the other hand.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know if there has been an accumulation of coal near the colliery sites larger than last year?

Shri K. C. Reddy: There has been a large amount of pit-head stock, but I am glad to say it is being progressively decreased. The pit-head stock is diminishing rather than increasing.

Shri A. C. Guha: In any case, is it still larger than last year?

Shri K. C. Reddy: No. It is diminishing, I said. It is not larger than last year.

Shri T. N. Singh: Is that over-accumulation due to lack of wagon facilities, and if so, what has been done to ease the wagon position?

Shri K. C. Reddy: That is a question which the Railway Minister has to answer, but I can say this, that during the last year or thereabout, the position has definitely improved, but the demand from the various industries outstrip the wagon availability, and as such, there is some amount of difficulty because of that.

Shri T. N. Singh: Is it true that as a result of certain priorities fixed by the Production Ministry, the movement of coal has been prevented?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Not to my knowledge.

Shri K. K. Basu: May we know how long it would take to clear up this still accumulated stock of coal?

Shri K. C. Reddy: We can make every effort, but I cannot say exactly what time it will take.

Shri G. P. Sinha: What is the present tonnage of accumulated coal?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I cannot give the exact figure straightaway. It is about 2 million and odd tons.

Shri Nambiar: May I know whether there was a request for more supply of coal from the South due to the curtailment of electric energy there recently due to want of proper rains?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I cannot say how much increased supply we can make to South India because of the exceptional difficulties that have arisen now owing to the shortage of supply of electricity. Even normally there is some difficulty in making supplies to the South because of transport difficulties. I am not yet aware as to what additional quantity of coal is required by various industries because of the failure of electric supply. I cannot give an answer to that now.

सेठ अचल सिह : क्या मंत्री महोदय बताने की कृपा करेंगें कि उतर प्रदेश का कोटा पिछले साल ५० पर सेंट क्यों कम कर दिया गया है ?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I am not aware of any such reduction.

सेठ अचल सिह : क्या यह कोल की कमी की वजह से किया गया है या वैगनों की कमी की वजह से ?

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether the coal accumulated at pit-heads is subject to deterioration, and if so, what is the percentage of such deterioration?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I do not think it is subject to any serious deterioration. There may be some deterioration. I cannot give definite information.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I asked the percentage of deterioration.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is negligible. Otherwise, they would give it.

Shri K. C. Reddy: I cannot give the percentage.

Shri Raghavaiah: Have the demands of all the coal-consuming associations like the Tobacco Growers' Association and also other industries been met before coal is exported to South Korea and Malaya?

Shri K. C. Reddy: All the various demands are ascertained from the various industries, and the Coal Commissioner allots such and such a quantity to each industry, but that does not mean, because there is shortage of supply for particular industries, we should stop our exports altogether.

Shri Meghnad Saha: Has any attempt been made to utilize the pit deposits in South India in Arcot District which can be used as a substitute for coal?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Perhaps the hon. Member is referring to lignite?

Shri Meghnad Saha: Yes.

Shri K. C. Reddy: It is still in the project stage. A pilot project has just been taken up by the Government of Madras, and no production has yet been made. After the pilot project succeeds and after production begins, it will ease the situation somewhat.

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

***97. Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government of India have taken notice of the Central African Federation Scheme now under discussion for South and North Rhodesia and Nyasaland;

(b) the number of Indians domiciled in these territories and how far their future status is likely to be affected by the Scheme;

(c) whether Government have had any communication with the U.N.O. or with the Government of the U. K. on this Federation proposal from the point of view of the autonomy or self-Government of the non-autonomous territories; and

(d) whether Government have made it known that India is vitally interested in the future development of Africa?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) The Government of India are aware that a scheme for the Central African Federation has been put forward and has been under discussion.

(b) There are approximately 4,150, 2,600 and 4,000 Indians in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland respectively. The proposal for a federation is still in a formative stage and it is difficult to say how ultimately this will affect the Indian community in those areas.

(c) and (d). No formal communications have been sent on behalf of the Government to the U.N.O. or the U.K. in regard to this proposal. But the fact that the Government of India is interested and is of opinion that the views of the African inhabitants of these areas should be given the fullest consideration is well-known. When occasion arises, the Government's views will be formally communicated to the other Governments concerned.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know if any of the former mandated areas or areas now under the Trusteeship Council are also to be included in this Federation?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sorry, I cannot give an answer to that without enquiry. I am not sure.

Shri A. C. Guha: Is any such proposal for Federation likely to come up for consideration on the Trusteeship Council of the U.N.O. or the General Assembly of the U.N.O.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Normally, it does not automatically come up unless some party brings it forward.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know if the Government of India have got any idea to bring forward this proposal before the U.N.O.?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, sir.

Shri K. Subrahmanyam: Is it a fact that Indians settled in Central Africa have been making common cause with the white people there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No.

PRODUCTION OF UREA AND AMMONIUM NITRATE AT SINDRI

***98. Shri Barman:** Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state what progress has been made at Sindri for expansion of the factory for production of urea and ammonium nitrate?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): A team of administrative and technical experts in which T.C.A. is represented has been sent to Japan, North America and Europe on 10th February 1953 to visit important Urea and Ammonium-Nitrate Plants in those countries and study the different processes of Urea and Ammonium Nitrate manufacture, with a view to select the process most suitable for adoption at Sindri. The team is expected to take about two months to complete the study and submit a report.

Shri Barman: In case it is considered desirable to start this production at Sindri, is it proposed to start it by State enterprise or private enterprise?

Shri K. C. Reddy: It will be started by the Sindri Fertilisers and Chemicals Limited, and it is a state enterprice.

Shri A. M. Thomas *rose*—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members who have tabled the question must have priority. Mr. Barman.

Shri Barman: It was known some time that out of the sludge that is left out of gypsum after the extraction of the fertiliser, a cement factory might be started for the manufacture of cement. How far Government have proceeded with that project?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I submit it is a different question altogether. But for the hon. Member's information, I may say that the Associated Cement Company, with whom we have entered into an agreement for the utilisation of the calcium carbonate sludge for the manufacture of cement, are making fairly good progress.

Shri A. M. Thomas: What are the ancillary industries now run roundabout the Sindri factory?

Shri K. C. Reddy: There is a proposal to instal a coke oven plant, and there is a proposal to have a plant for the manufacture of urea and ammonimum nitrate, but to the best of my knowledge there is no other plant.

Shri Bansal: Is there any proposal to manufacture methonol there?

Shri K. C. Reddy: It is a very small plant.

Shri Meghnad Saha: Is this factory to be under Government or private management?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Which one?

Shri Meghnad Saha: All these subsidiary factories, urea, ammonium nitrate, methonol, and coke oven plant.

Shri K. C. Reddy: While answering a question by the hon. Member on a previous occasion, I stated that all these will be State enterprises, except the manufacture of cement, with regard to which, we have entered into an agreement with the Associated Cement Company.

Shri Meghnad Saha: In view of the fact that the farmers of this country are not accustomed to the utilisation of fertilisers, of different classes, is there any plan for entrusting with the Sindri Factory, a research laboratory for the utilisation of fertilisers and their proper mixture?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I think it is under the constant consideration of the hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture.

Shri K. K. Basu: May I know whether Government have any control over the price charged by the Associated Cement Company, for the cement manufactured at Sindri?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I am afraid my hon. colleague the Minister of Commerce and Industry has to answer that question.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We are going from urea and ammonium nitrate to cement. Next question.

Shri K. K. Basu: They are making profits out of it.

DEVELOPMENT COUNCILS FOR INDUSTRIES

*99. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** (a) Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state the industries in respect of which Development Councils have been set up under the Industries Development and Registration Act, 1951?

(b) What are the functions of these Councils *vis-a-vis* the industry to which they are attached?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Development Councils for

(i) Heavy Chemicals (Acids and Fertilizers) and

(ii) Internal combustion engines and power driven pumps have already been set up. The setting up of others is under consideration.

(b) Attention is invited to the Second Schedule of the Act.

Sardar Hukam Singh: How are these councils constituted, by nomination or by any other means?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Constituted by nomination.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Is it a fact that some expert has been invited to advise us on the setting up of these Development Councils?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Yes, an expert was here some time back.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know for how many industries the Government at present intend to set up these Development Councils?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: As the hon. Member knows, the Industries Advisory Council had recommended the setting up of development Councils for seven industries. Government have constituted councils for two. The setting up of others is under consideration.

Shri S. C. Samanta: During the last session, the hon. Minister stated that due to the scarcity of suitable personnel, they were unable to set up these Development Councils; may I know whether this scarcity also stands in the way of setting up the other Development Councils?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The scarcity is no longer a fact with regard to the two. In regard to the others, scarcity and other factors are in operation.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether in making these nominations Government take into account the various interests like the labour, the employers or other persons concerned?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Every concerned interest does find a place in these councils.

Shri K. K. Basu: May I know the name and nationality of the expert.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: He has come and gone, but I believe he is an Englishman.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBAL AREAS

***100. Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) the amount that was allotted in the Budget for 1952-53 for development of Tribal Areas on the North East Frontier including the maintenance of Assam Rifles;

(b) how much of the same has been spent in the Tribal Areas:

(c) what are the items of expenditure; and

(d) how many Tribal Areas have been visited by the Prime Minister?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister (Shri J. N. Hazarika): (a)—

Economic Development = Rs. 10,91,500

Assam Rifles = Rs. 1,83,44,800

Total. 1,94,36,300

(b) Expenditure upto 30-11-52—

Economic Development = Rs. 6,28,395

Assam Rifles = Rs. 67,21,791

The months December to March have not been included in these figures. Heavy expenditure takes place during that period.

(c) Economic Development:

The items of expenditure are—

Development of Roads, Forests, Agriculture (including sericulture and veterinary), Education, Medical Health and Public Health services.

Assam Rifles:

Pay of Officers and Establishment.

Allowances and Honoraria.

Arms and ammunition.

Other Charges.

(d) Balipara Frontier Tracts.

Abor Hills District.

Mishmi Hills District.

Also some tribal areas in Assam State.

And I may add the Mao areas of the State of Manipur, and Chirapunji of the Khasi-Jantia Hills Districts of the Assam State.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether district and regional councils have been formed in the tribal areas of Assam for the speedy uplift of the tribal people there?

Shri J. N. Hazarika: As far as the Agency Area is concerned, there is no question of district councils. But for these autonomous districts of Assam, they have already started district councils.

Shri S. C. Samanta: Has any amount been spent on the encouragement of their living traditions, such as folk dances, their musics, their indigenous arts and crafts, etc.?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): The hon. Member's question, if I may say so with all respect, was not very precisely worded. He referred to the tribal areas of the North-East Frontier, and the answer that has been given relates entirely to the North-East Frontier Agency. There are other tribal areas in the Assam State, in Manipur, and in Tripura, which are not included in this answer. I just wish to make it quite clear. The figures given only relate to the North-East Frontier Agency.

As for the last question that the hon. Member put, whether any money has been spent or allotted for developing their arts and crafts, dances, etc., I do not think that any special sum has been granted for them. But that is a matter for the Autonomous District Councils and others to do, but we wish to encourage them in every way.

Shri S. C. Samanta: The hon. Minister stated that some money has been spent on the development of Education, Medical Health and Public Health services in these North-East Frontier

Areas. May I know whether school-going children have been supplied free with books and other things?

Shri J. N. Hazarika: There is no provision for free supply of books and other things for school-going children. But they are sometimes helped from the provisions for grants and contributions. The orphan boys and school children are provided books and other things free.

Shri Rishang Keishing: May I know how the expenses for the maintenance of the Assam Rifles have been included in the Budget for the development of the North-East Tribal Areas?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If it was there in the last year's Budget, it was there. If it is there, then in the coming Budget it will come. What does the hon. Member want?

Shri Rishang Keishing: My question was how the expenses for the maintenance of the Assam Rifles have been included in the Budget for the development of the tribal people in the North-East Frontier Agency.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: They have been included because the question was about the sum allotted for their development and also the maintenance of the Assam Rifles. So, the two figures are given separately.

Shri Rishang Keishing: Have the Government taken note of the vital importance of good roads for the development of these tribal areas, and if so, has any progress been made in this respect?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Building of roads is given the top priority.

Shri R. K. Chaudhuri: I want to ask a question of the Parliamentary Secretary.

(*Shri R. K. Chaudhuri put the question in Assamese*).

Shri J. N. Hazarika: I am satisfied...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. That is not the language the hon. Member should use. Hon. Members must speak either in Hindi or in English.

Shri R. K. Chaudhury: We are allowed to speak in our mother tongue and this is a rare opportunity I am getting.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members have got enough opportunity to speak their mother tongue outside this House.

Shri Beli Ram Das: Has any community project been taken up in the Frontier Agency, and if so, at what cost?

Shri J. N. Hazarika: Yes, Sir. One development project has been taken up and about Rs. 6,73,000 will be spent in one year of the three-year plan.

Shri Beli Ram Das: May I know the nature of the works done?

Shri J. N. Hazarika: The nature of the works is—agricultural expansion, irrigation, reclamation, health and rural sanitation, education, social education including community recreation centres, adult education, etc.

Shri Rishang Keishing: What were the most common and important problems brought to the notice of hon. the Prime Minister by the people in these areas during his visit?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member is referring to the North East Frontier Agency or to the autonomous district?

Shri Rishang Keishing: Frontier Agency.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The biggest problem was of communications. The second problem or the second demand was for schools. Those seem to dominate other matters.

SETTING UP OF AN INTEGRATED IRON AND STEEL PLANT

*103. **Shri Nanadas:** Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the discussions with certain Japanese and American interests for the setting up of an integrated Iron and Steel Project in India, have been finalised; and

(b) if so, whether Government propose to lay on the Table of the House a copy of the agreement arrived at?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) The discussions have concluded.

(b) Does not arise as no agreement has been reached.

Shri Nanadas: Is it a fact, Sir, that the Government have given up negotiations with the American and Japanese interests for technical and financial collaboration in the setting up of the new iron and steel plant, as the terms imposed by the interests are inconsistent with the State control of the plant?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I have already answered that question on the floor of the House the other day.

Shri Nanadas: Is it a fact, Sir, that the Government are now contemplating to seek the co-operation of Britain for technical and financial collaboration in the setting up of the new plant with a view to get the Sterling Balances and utilise them for the purpose, as the terms of the U.K. interests are more favourable than those of the American and Japanese interests?

Shri K. C. Reddy: All that is mere speculation and story. There is nothing like that that has happened.

Shri Nanadas: May I know, Sir, whether the proposed integrated iron and steel plant will be completely State-owned and controlled or whether it will be only a State controlled project?

Shri K. C. Reddy: It is intended to be a State-controlled project, but I cannot say whether it will be entirely financed and owned by the State.

Shri Nanadas: In view of the fact that this matter has been pending since 1948, may I know, Sir, at what stage the matter stands regarding the integration of this plant, and how long will it take for the project to be completed and the location of the plant decided?

Shri K. C. Reddy: As I said yesterday in the other House, Sir. Government also are not quite happy that there has been so much of delay over this important matter. But the delay was inevitable under the circumstances. Government are taking every step necessary in order to have this iron and steel plant in our country. State-controlled, at an early date. Just at present a Technical Mission has been constituted on which there is a representative of the World Bank, a representative of the firm of Koppers in America and also an officer of the Government of India. That Commission has already commenced its work and we are expecting the report of that Commission in about two months' time. After that is received we will take every possible step in order to expedite the installation of this integrated iron and steel plant.

Shri K. K. Basu: May I know Sir, whether the idea of establishing an integrated plant has been finally dropped?

Shri K. C. Reddy: It has not been dropped. On the other hand, we are proceeding with regard to the matter very actively.

Shri Meghnad Saha: Do I understand, Sir, that the Minister justifies the delay in giving effect to this as inevitable?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I am not justifying anything. I am stating a mere fact.

Shri G. P. Sinha: May I know Sir, where the plant is going to be located?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That has been asked again and again.

Shri G. P. Sinha: Is there a proposal from Damodar Valley for starting a steel project centre there?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I have no information.

Shri Nanadas: What are the specific considerations that compelled the Government to get the project report prepared afresh?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Originally the idea was to establish a steel plant. But now our idea is to establish an integrated iron and steel plant. That is one of the main reasons. Secondly. the existing steel concerns have launched an expansion programme. Because of that we have to determine what categories of steel have got to be manufactured in the proposed integrated iron and steel plant And the capital that will be required for the proposed iron and steel plant. has to be worked out afresh. For all these reasons we have decided to set up a new Technical Mission to go into all aspects of the question and to give us a fresh up-to-date report after reviewing all the previous project reports in order to enable us to go ahead quickly with regard to this matter.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know, Sir, the year in which Government now hope that the integrated plant will start working in India?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I won't make any prophecy, Sir. But Government will take every possible step to have this done as early as possible.

Shri Meghnad Saha: In view of the fact that the steel requirements of India have been stated to be 2½ million tons and the expanded programme of the factory already existing comes up to only 1·3 million tons, may I ask the Minister how he justifies the fact that the Government cannot enter into any new plan without considering the situation which is already there?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I did not say that the Government is not thinking of any new plan. On the other hand, I said that there is every desire on the part of Government to establish this factory.

GOVERNMENT HOUSING FACTORY

***104. Shri K. K. Basu:** Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government Housing Factory has been converted into a private limited company;

(b) whether besides the Government of India there are any other interests in capital of this Company; and

(c) if the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, what is the share in capital of each such interest?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) Yes. The assets of the Housing Factory have been leased to the Hindustan Housing Factory, Ltd.

(b) Yes. There is one other shareholder, Messrs, Basakha Singh-Wallenborg. Ltd.

(c) The Government of India and Messrs. Basakha Singh-Wallenborg, Ltd. share the capital of Rs. 5 lakhs. of which Rs. 1 lakh is paid up, equally.

Shri K. K. Basu: May we know whether there is any special condition as to the management of these concerns?

Shri K. C. Reddy: The management will vest with Basakha Singh-Wallenborg Ltd.

Shri V. P. Nayar: What is the percentage of the leased amount to the entire capital amount invested in the factory?

Shri K. C. Reddy: The plant and machinery of the Hundustan Housing Factory will be leased to the new company. The new company will pay rent on that equivalent to the depreciation allowance on the assets according to the income-tax law. I may add that it comes to about Rs. 1·75 lakhs per annum.

Shri V. P. Nayar: That is not an answer to my question, Sir. What is the percentage of the lease amount to the capital invested on the plant?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member wants to know the percentage of their contribution to the capital expenditure.

Shri K. C. Reddy: The position is this. The assets of the Factory which are now there will be leased to the new company on certain terms. The new company will put in fresh working capital. Ten lakhs will be necessary. The new company Basakha Singh-Wallenborg Ltd. will incur additional expenditure to the extent of about 17 lakhs of rupees for importing fresh machinery that may be needed in order to work out the programme of the factory.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member wants to know what will be the income of the Government as a percentage of the investment?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I cannot answer the question in that way. I answered it in a different way that we are going to get a rent on the assets which we are going to lease to the new company. The amount of rent will be equivalent to the depreciation allowance under the income-tax law, I cannot say to what percentage it will work out.

Shri V. P. Nayar: What will be the capital expenditure on this factory?

Shri K. C. Reddy: All that has been answered on a number of occasions previously, Sir.

Shri A. C. Guha: May we know if the hon. Minister is ready to give a full statement as regards the formation of capital etc. of this new company and the terms of agreement with Basakha Singh-Wallenborg Ltd., for the management?

Shri K. C. Reddy: We can place the agreement on the Table.

Shri T. N. Singh: Are the accounts of this company liable to be audited by Government or have Government made any special provision for checking of the accounts?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Well, I cannot answer the question right now. Sir. There are certain clauses in the Articles and Memorandum of Association relating to the audit of the accounts of the company.

Shri T. N. Singh: May we take it that the Government money invested in that particular firm is not subject to any audit control by the Auditor-General?

Shri K. C. Reddy: In all such industrial concerns where we have floated companies we have provided for an independent audit by the Auditor-General.

Shri K. K. Basu: May we know whether the Government has any control over the management and the fixation of prices of the produce of this concern?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I said that so far as the management is concerned, it will be vested with the Basakha Singh-Wallenborg Ltd. The Government will not have any hand in the management or the day to day working of the factory, but certainly the Government would be watching as to how this company is working and, if at any time there is any necessity to step in they will do so.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Is it a fact Sir, that on account of this change-over large stocks of materials have been declared surplus which are likely to be sold in auction now?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Yes, certain articles which may not be of any use in the production programme of the new company will be sold as surplus.

Sardar Hukam Singh: What is the book value of those articles that have been declared surplus?

Shri K. C. Reddy: I should like to have notice of this question.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know whether there was any valuation of the assets of the Government Housing Factory were valued before this change-over was effected and how was that valuation effected?

Shri K. C. Reddy: The valuation has been made. In fact, it took a lot of time and the valuation has been made very carefully.

Shri A. C. Guha: By whom was the valuation made?

Shri K. C. Reddy: By the concerned Government departments.

Shri K. K. Basu: In view of the fact that the Government Housing Factory has been finally converted into a private company, may we know whether the Government can give us the real figures of the total loss suffered by this concern?

Shri K. C. Reddy: Well, Sir, that has also been answered on a number of occasions previously.

Shri K. K. Basu: Last time it was said that it had not been ascertained. Now it has been finally settled. May we know......

منسٹر آف ایجوکیشن اینڈ نیچرل ریسورسز اینڈ سائنٹفک ریسرچ (مولانا آزاد): جب مسٹر ریڈی نے کہا ھے کہ وہ بہت جلد ایک اسٹیٹمنٹ ھاؤس کے ٹیبل پر رکھینگے تو میں سمجھتا ھوں اسکا انتظار کرنا چاھیئے ۔

[**The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad):** When Mr. Reddy has said that he would lay a statement on the Table of the House, I think, it should better be waited for.]

Shri K. C. Reddy: If the hon. Member tables a separate question, I can give a detailed answer.

Shri Radha Raman: When will the factory start working?

Shri K. C. Reddy: We are very eager that it should start working at a very early date. It is now the responsibility of the company that has been formed. I made an enquiry and my information is this. The new company is importing some machinery for the purpose and pending the arrival of that machinery the company proposes to start manufacturing immediately certain pre-stressed concrete articles like telegraph posts, wooden doors and windows. According to the information that I have received, it is hoped that the factory will start functioning within the next few days.

HARASSMENT OF TWO INDIANS IN GOA

*105. **Shri V. P. Nayar:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to a letter to the Editor, published in the Delhi Edition of the "*Times of India*" on the 10th January, 1953, alleging harassment of two Indians who had gone to visit Panjim (in Goa) by a Portuguese police officer and the alleged ill-treatment of their driver, also an Indian National, in the police lock-up;

(b) whether any report about the alleged incident has been asked for, or received from the Indian Consul-General in Goa; and

(c) if the alleged incident has been verified as having occurred, what steps Government have taken or propose to take in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) Yes.

(b) A report was received from our Consul-General at Goa.

(c) Prompt steps have already been taken in the matter. As soon as he received the report of the incident, the Consul-General sought the personal intervention of the Governor General of Goa and had the driver of the car released from police lock-up. He then lodged a strong protest with the Government of Goa to prevent the recurrence of such incidents. The Government of India have also sent a protest to the Portuguese Legation in New Delhi. The replies to the two protests are awaited.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Is it a fact, Sir, that Indian nationals are arbitrarily detained in Goa police lock-ups for no good reasons?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: Several such incidents have been reported.

Shri V. P. Nayar: How many cases have been reported during the current year?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: Well, apart from this incident referred to, there was a similar incident exactly like that on the same date.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether the Government of India have received any complaint from Mr. Sood and Mrs. Kamini Kaushal, the film artiste about this incident?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: The persons involved in this incident are Mr. and Mrs. Sood. Even before they represented to us, our Consul-General had already taken steps in the matter.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether the Government have acknowledged to Mr. Sood the receipt of the complaint? You said you have received a complaint from Mr. Sood.

Shri Anil K. Chanda: I said that there was no complaint because the incident happened on the 1st of January and on the 3rd our Consul-General had already lodged a protest with the Government.

Shri Nambiar: In view of several such arrests that are taking place, what steps have been taken to stop such incidents so that Indian nationals are not harassed?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: I did not say several arrests. I said several incidents of this nature.

Shri K. K. Basu: How long does the Government expect to receive an answer and to take further steps?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: It certainly takes time for the Government in Portugal to send the reply. It is just about a month now. I expect that within the next few days we shall be able to get some sort of reply.

Shri Nambiar: What action has been taken?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: They have written to the Government. The hon. Member will consider calmly what other steps can be taken.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

JAPANESE CLOTH

*102. **Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Japanese cloth is affecting our overseas market for cloth owing to its cheapness?

(b) Have Government any information regarding the extent of export of Japanese cloth during the second half of 1952 to the countries to which we exported cotton cloth and if so, what is the quantity thereof?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Japanese competition is certainly keen in our export markets.

(b) Government do not have these figures for the second half of 1952.

NON-INDIAN EMPLOYEES OF FOREIGN CONCERNS IN INDIA

*106. **Shri Venkataraman:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether a census of non-Indian officers employed in foreign commercial and industrial concerns in India has been compiled;

(b) what is the proportion of Indian officers to non-Indian officers in each State;

(c) whether there is any discrimination in the scales of pay, allowances and emoluments as between the Indian and non-Indian officers of the same category; and

(d) whether Government propose to regulate the employment of non-Indians in the concerns functioning in India?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) The returns received from concerns employing non-Indians in response to Government of India notification dated the 31st July 1952 are under compilation.

(b) The information is not available, as separate figures in respect of employment in each state were not called for.

(c) No enquiry has been made into discrimination in the scales of pay, allowances and emoluments between the Indian and non-Indian officers of the same category.

(d) It is the declared policy of Government to encourage employment of Indians in foreign concerns.

CLOSING OF CHEMICALS FACTORIES

*107. **Shri Gidwani:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a number of factories which were producing Chemicals have closed down?

(b) If so, what is the number of such factories?

(c) What were the reasons for the closing down of such factories?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) to (c). So far as Government are aware only four factories have closed down permanently. These were producing sulphuric acid by the old Lead Chamber process which is uneconomic. Government have also received reports of five cases where production has been suspended. One of these has been producing sulphuric acid by the same process. Two were producing superphosphates for which there has been a fall in consumer offtake. And two were producing bleaching powder which has been partially replaced by liquid chlorine in paper and textile factories and also in water sterilization.

INDO-PAKISTAN CONFERENCE ON PASSPORT SYSTEM

*108. **Shri A. N. Vidyalankar:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that an Indo-Pakistan Conference was recently held to discuss the questions arising from the working of the Passport System;

(b) whether the desirability or otherwise of the Passport System was also discussed in the Conference, between the delegations of the two countries;

(c) whether Government propose to lay on the Table of the House the agenda discussed and the full report of the decisions arrived at; and

(d) whether as a result of this Conference any material changes in the prevailing passport system are likely to take place?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) Yes, at New Delhi from the 28th January to the 1st February, 1953.

(b) No.

(c) The decisions taken at the Conference are subject to ratification on or before the 1st March 1953, pending which they cannot be disclosed. After that date they will be released to the Press, and if the House so desires, a copy of the minutes will be placed on the Table of the House.

(d) Agreement was reached at the Conference on a large number of important points which, when implemented, will considerably facilitate travelling between the two countries. A joint Press Note to this effect was issued by the two delegations on the conclusion of the Conference to which I invite the attention of the hon. Member.

CESS ON MILL CLOTH

*109. **Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state the amount of money expected to be received through the cess recently levied on the production in textile mills for the encouragement of the handloom industry?

(b) How is it proposed to be distributed in the states?

(c) Have any plans been drawn for the utilisation of these amounts?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) The total collections from the cess are expected to be about Rs. 5 crores per annum.

(b) and (c) The attention of the hon. Member is invited to the reply given to Starred Question No. 10 on the 13th February, 1953.

ADVISERS FOR WORKING OF FIVE YEAR PLAN

*110. **Shri A. M. Thomas:** Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state what will be the functions of the Advisers, who are appointed to the three zones, in regard to the working of the Five Year Plan?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): A copy of the letter dated October 30, 1952, addressed by the Planning Commission to all State Governments setting out the functions of Advisers on Programme Administration is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix I, annexure No. 21]

COKING PLANT

***111. Shri A. M. Thomas:** Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state:

(a) when the coking plant set up by the Central Government will commence production;

(b) what is the quantity of coke now stocked in Sindri Factory;

(c) for what period the present stock will be sufficient;

(d) whether any quantity of coke stocked has been damaged; and

(e) if so, what is the estimated loss to Government?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) As I stated in reply to starred question No. 535 dated the 21st November 1952 by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh in this House, the Coke oven plant is being put up by the Sindri Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited. It is expected to commence production about the middle of 1954.

(b) The stock as on 14-1-1953 was of the order of 1,57,000 tons.

(c) The present stock taken with normal supplies from the Indian Iron and Steel Co., with whom Sindri Fertilizers and Chemicals Ltd. have a contract valid up to April 1953, are expected to be sufficient up to about the end of 1953.

(d) No.

(e) Does not arise.

CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS WITH KASHMIR

***112. Shri P. T. Chacko:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Delhi Agreement of July, 1952 on constitutional relations with Kashmir has been implemented in full; and

(b) if not, whether Government are in a position to say by what time provisions such as those about the financial integration and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court will be implemented?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). I would invite the attention of the hon. Member to the reply I gave to Short Notice Question No. 24 in the House of the People on the 18th November 1952 I indicated in that reply the action already taken in regard to implementing the provisions of the Indo-Kashmir Agreement of July, 1952.

The Constituent Assembly of the State has accepted the Agreement by a Resolution. The part of the Agreement that has yet to be implemented will have to find a place in the new Constitution of the State which the Constituent Assembly is drawing up. One reason for the delay has been the agitation carried on in parts of Jammu Province.

TELEVISION FILM

***113. Shri L. J. Singh:** Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the first Television Film has been made in India;

(b) if so, the success so far obtained in its initial stage; and

(c) if not, whether there is any possibility of making it in the near future?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) I presume that the word 'television film' refers to films meant for use in television circuits. The Central Government are concerned with the sanctioning of cinematograph films for exhibition and do not ordinarily receive reports of films produced in India except those that are submitted for certification to the Central Board of Film Censors.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

CYCLONE RELIEF IN TANJORE AND TRICHINOPOLY

***114. Shri Nambiar:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether he has received representation for grant of relief to the Cyclone-affected people of Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts of the Madras State; and

(b) if so, what action has been taken thereon?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). Only one representation, from the Pudukkottai Cyclone Relief Committee, was received. Independently of this, on receipt of information from the Chief Minister of Madras, regarding damage and loss caused by the cyclone in Madras State, Rs. 30,000/- were sent from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund to the Governor of Madras for relief of distress in the cyclone affected area. A further sum of Rs. 2,350 which was received in the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund earmarked for Madras Cyclone Relief, has also been remitted to the Governor of Madras. In response to the Prime Minister's appeal, certain contributions were made directly to the Madras Government.

IMPORT OF INFANT FOODS

***115. Shri Madhao Reddi:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Government have cut down imports of infant foods during the current licensing period to the extent of 80 per cent?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): No, Sir. On the other hand the quota percentage for the import of infant foods from soft currency areas during the current licensing period has been increased to 100 per cent. as against 20 per cent. in the previous half year. In addition, licences for the import of powdered milk (for infant feeding) are allowed from dollar and hard currency countries on the basis of 20 per cent. quota. Applications for import licences from new comers are also entertained.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF EXPORT ADVISORY COUNCIL

***116. Shri Madhao Reddi:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state what are the recommendations of the Export Advisory Council which met in Delhi in the month of December 1952 with regard to the measures to be taken to promote India's export trade?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): A statement is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix I, annexure No. 22]

PROTECTION OF DIBRUGARH TOWN FROM EROSION

***117. Shri Amjad Ali:** (a) Will the Minister of **Irrigation and Power** be pleased to state when the construction of the proposed revetment on Brahmaputra for the protection of Dibrugarh Town from erosion is expected to begin?

(b) What steps, if any, have been taken by now to prevent erosion of Dibrugarh Town before the next monsoon breaks out in Assam?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) The state Government are responsible for the execution of the work. It will be taken up as soon as the necessary preliminaries are completed.

(b) Information is being collected from the State Government and will, on receipt, be placed, on the Table of the House.

CYCLE INDUSTRY

***118. Shri M. R. Krishna:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Tariff Commission's enquiry about the cycle industry has been completed; and

(b) whether the period of protection to this industry has been further extended?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Yes, upto 31st December, 1953.

ALL INDIA KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES BOARDS

***119. Shri S. N. Das:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state whether the All India Khadi and Village Industries Boards have begun functioning?

(b) If so, what is the programme of work that they have framed for the current year?

(c) Have separate Khadi and Village Industries Funds been created and if so, what is the amount in each case?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) The All India Khadi and Village Industries Board was inaugurated on the 2nd of February, 1953.

(b) For the current year the Board has recommended a grant of Rs. 9 lakhs and a loan of Rs. 30 lakhs to the All India Spinners' Association. The grant is to be spent on production and training centres for subsidising wages and sales, and the loan is intended for the purchase of cotton for Khadi production. These recommendations are now being examined.

The Board has set up committees to consider its programme of work and is expected to meet next month to consider the reports of these committees.

(c) A Khadi Fund is proposed to be set up. It is not proposed to have a separate Fund for Village Industries; but budget provision will however be made for this purpose in the normal way.

CLOTH EXPORT

***121. Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state how far the Government of India's announcement reducing the export duty on cloth from 25 to 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, has improved the competitive capacity of Indian textiles in foreign markets?

(b) Has any special agreement been entered into between India and other countries with a view to reaching the export target of 1000 million yards by the end of this year?

(c) Have Government taken steps to keep the domestic price of textiles from rising as a consequence of this export?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) The reduction was made with this object, but it is too early to judge the effects.

(b) No. Our exports however are freely licensed at present to all countries.

(c) Government do not expect any such rise as a result of their export policy. Price control over internal sales is still maintained in respect of some of the types of cloth which have an export demand.

KASHMIR DEMILITARIZATION TALKS

***122. Shri K. G. Deshmukh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Kashmir demilitarization talks are to be resumed again at Geneva in the month of February, 1953;

(b) whether India has accepted an invitation to take part in the said talks; and

(c) if the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, who is leading the Delegation to Geneva?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). Yes, Dr. Graham resumed his talks with representatives of India and Pakistan, on the Kashmir question, at Geneva on the 4th February.

(c) Shri Girja Shankar Bajpai.

DEMANDS OF RESIDENTS OF SAMBHAR LAKE

***123. Shri Gidwani:** (a) Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the residents of Sambhar Lake have demanded a proper share of the salt trade?

(b) Is it a fact that their demand has not been accepted by Government?

(c) Is it a fact that a protest meeting and procession of the citizens of the place was organised on the 18th January 1953, when a resolution demanding withdrawal of the Salt Control Order was passed?

(d) Have Government considered their request?

(e) If so, what is their decision?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) Yes.

(b) The matter is under consideration.

(c) Government have received a non-official report that a meeting of some citizens of Sambhar was held on the 18th January 1953 at which a resolution urging the decontrol of salt was passed.

(d) and (e). This matter also is under consideration, and the report of the Commodities Control Committee, which is considering the question of controls in general, is awaited.

..ANDIKONDA PROJECT

***124. Shri N. R. Naidu:** (a) Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state what progress has been made in the matter of final investigation of the Nandikonda Project included in the final Five Year Plan?

(b) Is it a fact that the responsibility of conducting the investigation has been left to the Madras Government?

(c) If the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, is there any central supervision over the steps that are being taken by the Madras Government?

(d) Has the Hyderabad Government also been associated with the enquiry?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) The scope of the Krishna River Project not yet having been defined, it is not known whether the Nandikonda Project will be included in the Five Year Plan. Investigations relating to this Project are however in progress.

(b) Yes. So far as it concerns that Government.

(c) The investigations are being carried out under the general supervision of the Technical Committee appointed by the Planning Commission.

(d) The Hyderabad Government is carrying out investigations relating to their part of the Project.

FILM INDUSTRY

***125. Giani G. S. Musafir:** (a) Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state whether Government have prepared any scheme to develop the film industry?

(b) Have any changes been made recently in the rules and policy governing the censorship of films?

(c) How many pictures were totally rejected by the Censor Board, during the last one year?

(d) What is the criterion governing the appointment of the members of the Censor Board?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) The Film Enquiry Committee has made certain recommendations which are under consideration.

(b) There has been no change in the policy of censorship; some additions have been made to the Cinematograph (Censorship) Rules, 1951, to ensure closer scrutiny of films submitted to the Central Board of Film Censors and the exhibition of films in the form in which they are certified.

(c) 28 films were totally rejected by the Central Board of Film Censors during the calendar year 1952.

(d) No qualifications have been prescribed for membership of the Board. The Central Board of Film Censors consists of 7 members, except the Chairman, who is an official; the members are drawn from public life.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF LIGHT MUSIC

***126. Shri Damodara Menon:** Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government of India have under consideration a scheme to encourage light music in order to replace film records broadcast by All India Radio;

(b) whether the scheme will be confined only to Hindi; and

(c) whether Government have any plan to consult persons in the musical field in the different Indian languages before finalising the scheme?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) No, Sir.

(c) The schemes when finalised will provide opportunities for the utilisation of talent available in all parts of the country.

PROMOTION OF INDIAN TEA MARKET IN U.S.A.

***127. Shri N. M. Lingam:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any agreement has been entered into with the tea trade in the U.S.A. for the promotion of the Indian tea market in that country; and

(b) if so, what is the nature of the agreement?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix I, annexure No. 23]

POPULARISING LIGHT MUSIC

***128. Shri Buchhikotaiah:** (a) Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state whether a conference was held recently for popularising through the radio light music other than film music?

(b) Who attended the conference and what were its concrete proposals?

(c) What steps are going to be taken for the encouragement of talent in this direction?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) Yes, Sir. A meeting was held in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to consider the steps to be taken by All India Radio to build up an adequate stock of good light music to replace film songs.

(b) A statement is laid on the Table of the House [*See* Appendix I, annexure No. 24]

(c) The general recommendations made are under consideration.

FIRING BY PAKISTAN FORCES ON INDIAN PATROL PARTY

***129. Sardar A. S. Saigal:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that on the 3rd and 4th January, 1953 Pakistan armed forces on the Indian Union border in Garo Hills resorted to heavy firing while the Indian border forces of Mahadeo camp were patrolling between Bagmara and Naheshkole on the Mymensingh Garo Hills border;

(b) whether it is a fact that indiscriminate firing continued and if so for how many hours or days;

(c) how many persons were injured and killed on either side; and

(d) whether any steps have been taken in connection with this incident and with what result?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister (Shri J. N. Hazarika): (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). Detailed information has been called for and, when received, will be laid on the Table of the House.

(d) The Assam Government have protested to the East Bengal Government. They have also pressed for an immediate joint enquiry, and for deterrent action against the persons responsible for the unprovoked attack.

NO-WAR DECLARATION

***130. Shri Gidwani:** (a) Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether there has been any correspondence recently between the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Pakistan regarding a No-War Declaration by both the Governments?

(b) If so, has the Prime Minister of Pakistan declined to accept the proposal and refused to be a party to any such declaration?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). There has been some correspondence with the Pakistan Prime Minister and it is still continuing. It deals with many other issues besides the No-War Declaration.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN RAJASTHAN

85. Shri Bheekha Bhai: Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state:

(a) the progress of work in respect of the Community Development Projects in Rajasthan at present:

(b) whether the District Development Committee and Project Advisory Committees have been formed;

(c) who is supervising the progress of work in the State;

(d) what areas will be selected for the implementation of Community Development Programme in Rajasthan;

(e) whether the selection of areas for Community Projects is made by the State Government or the Central Community Administration; and

(f) what are the bases of the selection of areas for Community Project plans in any State?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) In the field of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, the work has consisted mainly of digging of compost pits. 800 compost pits were dug in Raisinghnagar, 140 in Sumerpur and 100 in Dungarpur during December and January. Ammonium Sulphate was distributed to cultivators. As regards irrigation work is being carried on in five tanks in Dungarpur. New Tube-wells have been sunk. Construction work on Khandel Feeder Canal has commenced. The workers have completed 1,20,000 cu. ft. of earth. This will link Rajasmand lake with Khandel Tank and will benefit 14,000 acres of land irrigation. A drainage trench has been constructed in Baran and 15 drinking water wells cleaned.

In the field of education, 50 Jawahar Bal Mandirs (primary schools) have started functioning in Baran, Dungarpur, Raisinghnagar, Rajsamand and Sumerpur. 12 Adult education centres including Mahila Mandals have been opened in Dungarpur and 300 adults are undergoing the course. In the field of communications, 450 ft. of *Kutcha* roads have been constructed in Alwar mainly through voluntary effort of villagers and construction of a five mile road in Baran Block has commenced. One mile long and 22 ft. wide approach road is nearing completion in Sumerpur Block. A general cleanliness campaign is being carried on in all Development Blocks.

(b) Project Advisory Committees have been formed.

(c) Director of Community Projects, Shri G. B. K. Hooja.

(d) I invite attention to reply to part (a) of Unstarred Question No. 38 in the House of the People on 10th November, 1952.

(e) and (f). I invite attention to reply to parts (c) and (d) of Starred Question No. 481 in the House of the People on 4th June, 1952.

PRODUCTION IN SINDRI FERTILIZER FACTORY

86. Shri Karni Singhji: Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state:

(a) the total quantity of production of Sindri Fertilizer Factory during 1952; and

(b) the quantity allotted to various States, having regard to their demand, with particular reference to Rajasthan?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) 1,72,519 tons of Ammonium Sulphate.

(b) The question appertains to the Minister for Food and Agriculture. The information available is however given below. The total allocations of ammonium sulphate made to the various States including Rajasthan, during 1952 and the quantities allotted *ex*-Sindri Factory are as under:—

S. No.	Allottee	Total allocation	Ex-Sindri Factory
		Tons	Tons
(1)	Madras	1,63,000	52,576
(2)	Uttar Pradesh	41,000	36,750
(3)	Bombay	30,000	5,000
(4)	Bihar	2,000	2,000
(5)	West Bengal	13,000	6,500
(6)	East Punjab	3,500	1,000
(7)	Orissa	5,000	500
(8)	Madhya Pradesh	9,000	7,000
(9)	Assam	500	500
(10)	Hyderabad	12,200	1,000
(11)	Mysore	3,450	..
(12)	Madhya Bharat	375	..
(13)	Rajasthan	700	..
(14)	Bhopal	500	..
(15)	Ajmer	65	..
(16)	Delhi	700	..
(17)	Coorg	33	..
(18)	Himachal Pradesh	70	..
(19)	Tripura	3	..
(20)	Kutch	10	..

IMPORT OF MINERALS

87. **Shri Eswara Reddy:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state whether Government propose to place on the Table of the House a statement on the import of minerals into India during the past four years, giving the following information:

(i) the list of minerals imported every year, their quantity, their value and the country of export;

(ii) the purposes for which these minerals were imported into India; and

(iii) the total customs earnings from these imports every year?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (i) and (ii). A statement in respect of Asbestos, Barytes, Borax, China clay, Graphite, Phosphate, Salt, Lead and Iron Ores, and Sulphur is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix I, annexure No. 25.] If the hon. Member requires information in respect of any other item to be specified, information will be collected and laid on the Table of the House.

(iii) Information is not available.

KASHMIR DISPUTE

88. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) how the Kashmir question stands with the United Nations after the last Security Council's Resolution on Kashmir;

(b) whether Dr. Graham is still charged with the duty of finding a solution or his term has expired; and

(c) whether there has been any further talk with or proposal from Dr. Graham or the United Nations authorities?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) to (c). The security Council's resolution of 23rd December relating to the Jammu and Kashmir State has been rejected by the Government of India. Dr. Graham was, however, requested by the Council to continue his efforts to bring about a settlement. The Government of India made it clear that they could not discuss any matter on the basis of the Security Council's resolution of the 23rd December, but they were perfectly prepared to confer with Dr. Graham with a view to find some way to a settlement. Dr. Graham is at present holding talks at Geneva with representatives of India and Pakistan.

TRADE WITH INDONESIA

89. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state what was the value of the trade (exports and imports separately) with **Indonesia** during 1952?

(b) What were the chief items imported?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) India's exports (including re-exports) to Indonesia during the 11 months, January to November 1952 were valued at Rs. 482 lakhs approximately. Imports during the same period were of the order of Rs. 129 lakhs.

(b) Chief items imported were diesel oil, manures, batching oil, kerosene oil, motor spirit and essential oils.

BALANCE OF TRADE

90. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state whether there

was any improvement in the overall balance of trade position during October, November and December, 1952 as compared with the previous three months?

(b) If so, what were the factors contributing to this improvement?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The improvement in the balance of trade position was due mainly to a fall in the imports of cotton raw, wheat and grain, pulses and flour.

TRADE WITH SWEDEN

91. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) the figures for imports from and exports to Sweden during the period beginning from the 1st January to the 31st December, 1952; and

(b) whether the arrangement which governed the trade relations between Sweden and India during the year 1952 has been renewed?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Imports from Sweden into India during the period January-November, 1952, valued at Rs. 558·48 lakhs while exports during the same period, including re-exports, valued Rs. 159·69 lakhs. The trade returns for the month of December, 1952, are not yet available.

(b) Negotiations for the renewal of the Indo-Swedish Trade arrangement for the year 1953 are in progress.

REPORT OF FILM INQUIRY COMMITTEE

92. **Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to refer to the replies to Starred Question No. 897 asked on the 23rd December, 1949 and supplementary questions raised by Shri H. V. Kamath and serial No. 1 of the statement V showing action taken on assurances etc. given during the November-December Session 1949 of the Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) and state:

(a) whether steps have since then been taken to promote legislation to give effect to such recommendations of the Film Inquiry Committee as require sanction of the legislature;

(b) what is the progress made in the consideration of the recommendations and Report of the Film Inquiry Committee; and

(c) what are the improvements effected and reforms made, and any other steps taken in regard to improvement in film production?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) and (b). A Bill is under preparation concerning some of the recommendations and steps are being taken to consult representatives of the film industry in this connection. Regarding other recommendations there are practical difficulties in the way of giving effect to them.

(c) The powers of the Central Government are at present confined to "sanctioning of cinematograph films for public exhibition" and do not extend to production.

MULTI-PURPOSE RIVER VALLEY PROJECTS

93. **Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** Will the Minister of **Irrigation and Power** be pleased to refer to reply given to starred question No. 497 asked on the 4th June, 1952 by Shri H. V. Pataskar and the information supplied in serial No. 92 of the statement showing action taken on assurances etc. given during the First Session of the House of the People, and state:

(a) whether any further revision has been made in the revised estimated cost of each of the river valley projects in question;

(b) if so, whether Government propose to lay on the Table of the House a comparative statement showing the revised estimate and the original and subsequent figures, reasons for changes made, and amounts of money spent so far as against the amount of work done;

(c) whether the estimates now made are more or less final and will be adhered to;

(d) whether wastages, misuse, or any other kinds of complaints have been received in connection with these river valley projects;

(e) whether inquiries have been made thereon; and

(f) whether actions have been taken upon them?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) to (f). A Statement giving the required information is enclosed. [*See* Appendix I, annexure No. 26]

SYNTHETIC FIBRE

94. **Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state what is the position of synthetic fibres displacing wool, and what percentage, if any, of our demand for wool is being met by synthetic fibres?

(b) How does it compare in cost of production and quality with our indigenous wool?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Only a small quantity of synthetic fibres is utilised for blending with imported wool.

(b) While indigenous wool is meant for heavy woollen fabrics, synthetic fibres are blended with imported wool which is used in the manufacture of light fabrics. Therefore, no comparison can be made between indigenous wool and synthetic fibres in cost of production and quality of fabrics.

HINDUSTAN SHIPYARD LTD.

95. **Shri K. K. Basu:** Will the Minister for **Production** be pleased to state:

(a) the date when, and the conditions and terms under which, the Hindustan Shipyard was taken over by the Government of India from the Scindia Steam Navigation Company;

(b) the amount of compensation that was paid to the Scindias;

(c) the date on which the Company was transformed into a Private Limited Company;

(d) the share of the Government of India and other interests in the Private Limited Company;

(e) the names of the Directors of the Company; and

(f) the name of the Managing Agents of the Company?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix I, annexure No. 27]

COPRA AND COCOANUT OIL

96. **Shri V. P. Nayar:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to lay on the Table of the House:

(i) a statement showing the details of Copra and Cocoanut oil imported into India from Ceylon in 1951 and 1952, the total import duty realised on these commodities and the rate of such import duty and the agencies through which these commodities were imported; and

(ii) a statement showing the details of internal production of Copra and Cocoanut oil in India, State-wise and the highest and lowest prices for these commodities, in the years 1951 and 1952?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (i) and (ii). Five Statements giving the required information are laid on the Table of the House [*See* Appendix I, annexure No. 28]. As regards the agencies through which these commodities were imported, the information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House later.

YUGOSLAV MISSION

97. **Sardar A. S. Saigal:** (a) Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a Yugoslav Mission visited India recently?

(b) How many members did the Mission consist of?

(c) What arrangements were made by Government as regards their transport, etc.?

(d) What was the amount Government spent on this Mission?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) Yes. A Goodwill Mission from Yugoslavia headed by H.E. Mr. Rodoljub Colakovic, Minister for Education and Culture of the Federal Government of Yugoslavia visited India in December 1952—January 1953 for a four week stay.

(b) The Mission consisted of five Members including the Leader.

(c) The Members of the Mission were provided with State hospitality during their stay in India. They travelled mostly by Government Plane, and on one or two occasions by train.

(d) As the charges incurred in the various States have not yet been received, it is not possible at this stage to indicate the expenditure incurred by Government on this Mission. It is not expected to exceed Rs. 35,000/-.

SUBSIDIZED INDUSTRIAL HOUSING SCHEME

98. **Shri Bansal:** Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of applications for the grant of subsidies and/or loans received upto the 31st January, 1953 under the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme from—

(i) State Governments,

(ii) Statutory Housing Boards,

(iii) Registered Co-operative Societies of Industrial Workers, and

(iv) Employers;

(b) the total amount of subsidies and loans asked for by the applicants falling under the above four categories, and the amounts sanctioned; and

(c) the approximate number of tenements proposed to be built by the applicants under each of the above categories?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): (a) to (c). A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix I, annexure No. 29].

SALT WELLS IN MANIPUR

99. **Shri L. J. Singh:** Will the Minister of Production be pleased to state:

(a) how many salt-wells there are in Manipur and how many of them are in good condition;

(b) what kinds of salt are available from these wells;

(c) whether production from these wells is on the increase or decrease;

(d) what steps Government have taken to improve these salt-wells and increase production; and

(e) whether there is any possibility of expanding these salt-wells in the near future?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) to (e). The information required is being collected and will be furnished to the House in due course.

EXPORTS TO BURMA

100. **Shri B. N. Roy:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) the Indian articles exported to Burma and the Burmese commodities imported into India in 1951-52;

(b) whether export to Burma in 1951-52 has increased in comparison with the exports in 1949-50 and 1950-51; and

(c) if not, the reasons and the steps to be taken for removing the main difficulties in the way of increasing Indian exports to that country?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Attention is invited to pages 62-64 of "Statistics of foreign trade of India by countries and currency areas for January to March 1952" (Published by Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Calcutta), a copy of which is in the Parliament Library.

(b) and (c). India's exports to Burma during the years 1949-50, 1950-51 and 1951-52 were of the order of Rs. 14 crores, Rs. 22 crores and Rs. 19·6 crores respectively. The small drop in the total value of the 1951-52 exports as compared with the exports of the previous year is largely due to the general recession in trade and fall in prices which started in the latter half of 1951-52, following the end of boom conditions created by the Korean war. With the general revival of trade during 1952, India's own export position has improved according to the latest figures.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS FOR BUILDING WORKS

101. **Shri S. N. Das:** Will the Minister of Works, Housing and Supply be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have finally considered the report of the Committee of Experts for building works; and

(b) which of its recommendations have been accepted and implemented by Government?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): (a) The recommendations are under examination of the Government of India.

(b) The question does not arise.

COTTON (PRODUCTION AND IMPORT)

102. **Shri K. G. Deshmukh:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) the total approximate production of raw cotton in India during the year 1952-53;

(b) the total number of bales of cotton that are required for the consumption of Indian mills; and

(c) the contracts, if any, made by Government for the purchase of foreign cotton during the same year?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) 3·36 million bales.

(b) 4·383 million bales.

(c) Government have not entered into any contract for the purchase of foreign cotton during the year 1952-53.

Price Fixation of Petroleum Products

103. Dr. Amin: (a) Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state what is the margin of profit allowed to the Oil Companies on each petroleum product before fixing its price?

(b) What are the items which constitute price structure of each petroleum product?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) The hon. Member is doubtless aware that there is no statutory price control over petroleum products. There could, therefore, strictly be no question of Government allowing any particular margin of profit with reference to any particular petroleum product.

(b) The price of the major petroleum product is basically determined by the f.o.b. price prevailing in the Gulf of Mexico and the following items affect the final price:—

(1) Ocean transportation charges;

(2) Insurance;

(3) Customs or Excise duty;

(4) Overhead and other incidental charges; and

(5) Profit.

Banaras Silk and Brocades (Export to U.S.A.)

105. Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) what is the quantity and valuation of Banaras silk and brocades exported to U.S.A. during the last three years;

(b) what is the duty charged on these articles in U.S.A.; and

(c) whether there is any proposal to increase the duty?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) This information is being collected.

(b) A statement is attached showing paras in the U.S. Customs Tariff under which Banaras silk and brocades are likely to be assessed to duty and the relevant rates of duty. [*See* Appendix I, annexure No. 30].

(c) Government of India are not aware of any such proposal.

Assistants and Clerks in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry

106. Shri N. Prabhakar: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state how many persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes have been recruited or promoted in their reserve quota of 12½ per cent. to vacancies of assistants and clerks in the Ministry in the years 1950-51 and 1951-52?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): A statement giving the requisite information is placed on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

The number of persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes recruited or promoted in their reserve quota of 12½ per cent. to vacancies of Assistants and Clerks in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the years 1950-51 and 1951-52.

	Number of Scheduled Castes recruited or promoted as Assistants.		*Number of Scheduled Castes recruited as Clerks.*	
	1950-51	1951-52	1950-51	1951-52
Late Ministry of Commerce.	4	..	1	
Late Ministry of Industry & Supply				
Ministry of Commerce and Industry	..	..	..	..

Community Projects in Delhi State

107. Shri N. Prabhakar: (a) Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state whether any of the Community Projects have actually been started in Delhi State and if so, what is the progress made so far?

(b) What is the programme of work for the first year in respect of each block of the Community Project in the Delhi State?

(c) What is the pay and qualifications of the Project and Assistant Project Officers?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) Yes. A *kutcha* road has been constructed and will be got metalled. Village level workers have been appointed. Budget estimates have been prepared by the

State Government and Survey has been completed.

(b) Delhi has been allotted only one Development Block. The programme of work has not yet been finalised.

(c) The pay of Project Executive Officer is Rs. 360/- p.m. He is an M.A. of the Delhi University. He was the District Public Relations Officer, Gurgaon, Punjab for the past three years. He has experience of social work in rural areas. No Assistant Project Executive Officer has been appointed.

SHARK OIL INDUSTRY

108. **Shri N. Prabhakar:** (a) Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state the number of concerns engaged in shark oil industry, total quantities of production and the average prices of the oil?

(b) Are any steps being taken to protect the industry from foreign competition, such as imports of cod liver oil etc. and if so, what are they?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):

(a) (i) The number of concerns engaged in Shark Oil Industry—three.

(ii) Production of Shark Oil.

1951	1952.
(gallons in terms of 6000 international units potency per gram.)	
9,123	19,857

(iii) Price (current) Rs. 24/- per gallon.

(b) Imports of Cod Liver Oil are restricted with a view to saving foreign exchange and in addition steps are being taken to help in deodorizing shark liver oil.

NEW RADIO STATIONS

109. **Giani G. S. Musafir:** Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of new Radio Stations set up by the Government of India during the last one year;

(b) what are the places where these stations have been set up;

(c) whether the power of any radio stations has been increased during the last one year; and

(d) if so, which are these stations and by how much has the power been increased at each of such of stations?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) None, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) Work is in progress on increasing the power of two radio stations.

(d) Nagpur and Guahati both 10 K.W. M.W. in place of the existing 1 K.W. M.W. transmitters.

COMMUNITY RECEIVERS IN BARODA

110. **Dr. Amin:** Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of community receivers in operation in Baroda District; and

(b) the names of the places where they have been installed in Baroda District together with the population of each place?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) 12.

(b) Information is being collected and will be placed on the Table of the House,

ASSISTANCE TO ORGANISATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK

111. **Shri K. C. Sodhia:** (a) Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state whether the National Advisory Committee for Public Co-operation has made out a list of voluntary organisations engaged in social work which are qualified for assistance by Government in their work?

(b) What are the qualifying conditions for such assistance?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) and (b). No, Sir. The work is being undertaken by the Planning Commission. The principles under which grants-in-aid will be admissible to the voluntary organisations engaged in social work have not yet been formulated, but are under consideration.

OUTPUT OF SINDRI FERTILISERS LTD.

112. **Shri K. C. Sodhia:** Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state:

(a) the total output of Sindri Fertilizers from the 1st April to the 31st December, 1952;

(b) the total quantity sold (i) to Central Government (ii) to State Governments and (iii) to the general public;

(c) the total quantity in stock as on the 31st December, 1952;

(d) the total import of ammonium sulphate from foreign countries, if any, during the same period;

(e) what is the cost price per ton of ammonium sulphate manufactured in Sindri; and

(f) what is the price of the Japanese ammonium sulphate per ton?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) 1,45,165 tons.

(b) (i) the Central Government's own requirements are nil,

(ii) 1,22,787 tons, and

(iii) 22,110 tons, including 18,665 tons through the Central Pool.

(c) 49350 tons.

(d) 192067 tons.

(e) The production cost is a confidential matter and cannot therefore be divulged. Sindri Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited, however, sell their fertilizer to the Central Fertilizer Pool at present at a price of Rs. 310 per ton f.o.r. Sindri.

(f) The information of the Government of India is as follows:—

Domestic Price.	\$ 65/66:00 per metric ton or Rs. 350/- (Approx.) per long ton.
Export price.	\$ 62/63:00 or Rs. 336/- (Approx.) per long ton.

LOANS TO CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETIES

113. **Shri K. C. Sodhia:** Will the Minister of Works, Housing and Supply be pleased to state whether any loans for construction of houses were given by the Government of India during 1951-52 and in the current year to any Co-operative Housing Societies and if so, the amount of loans advanced, the names of these Societies and the terms of the loans?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): No loans were advanced during the year 1951-52 specifically to the Co-operative Housing Societies. As for the current year, a loan of Rs. 25,616 and a subsidy amounting to Rs. 17,078 is likely to be sanctioned to the Thakkar Bapa Co-operative Housing Society, Bhavnagar on the terms envisaged in the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme, towards the construction of 30 tenements to be completed by June 1953. Applications of twelve other Societies for aid under the Subsidised Scheme are under examination.

Gazettes & Debates Section
Parliament Library Building
Room No. FB-025
Block 'G'
Acc. No. 25107
Dated 25.11.2014

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Tuesday, 17th February, 1953

The House met at Two of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

2 P.M.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

STATEMENT *re* SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR 1952-53

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I beg to present a Statement showing Supplementary Demands for Grants for expenditure of the Central Government (excluding Railways) for the year 1952-53.

[*Placed in Library. See No. IV. O. I* (72e)].

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT—*contd.*

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now proceed with the further consideration of the motion moved by Prof. Shriman Narayan Agarwal.

Dr. Rama Rao (Kakinada): What has happened to my adjournment motion?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have already informed the hon. Member that I refuse my consent to it, as it relates to a State subject. It does not relate to a subject pertaining to the Central Government.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): Is not the Central Government concerned with unemployment and retrenchment?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Some electrical undertaking has been suspended by the State Government and on account of that, some people have been thrown out of employment. It is purely a State matter.

Dr. Rama Rao: It is not such a simple affair.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It may be very serious, but hon. Members forget that we are working under a Federal Constitution and there are States which are autonomous in various respects. It is the duty of the State Government concerned to attend to this question. We cannot arrogate to ourselves the right to enquire as to what a State Government ought or ought not to do. I am sure the representatives of the State Legislatures are as conscious of their duties as hon. Members here. I do not like any confusion in this matter. (*Interruption*). I find that this is purely a State matter. I gave an opportunity to the hon. Member to explain the position to me, and he has written that it is an inter-State matter. What is an inter-State matter? (*Interruption*). What is this repeated interruption? There must be some decorum and decency observed in the House. It is purely a State matter, and I am not going to arrogate jurisdiction or waste the time of the House so far as this matter is concerned. It may be a very important matter, but since the hon. Members' counterparts are there in the State Legislature, they would attend to it.

Shri Nambiar: But that Legislature is not meeting.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It may not meet at all. It is none of our concern, Dr. Deshmukh. I am sorry, I mean Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): I may assure the Finance Minister that I have not the remotest idea of exchanging place with him.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): He said "Dr. Deshmukh". So, it must have referred to the Minister of Agriculture.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: We know only one Deshmukh.

The Minister of Agriculture (Dr. P. S. Deshmukh): I am also guarding my place.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: The President's Address raises a number of important questions, some of which we will no doubt have an opportunity of discussing in detail when the Budget comes up before the House. I would like to devote a major portion of my remarks to the situation that has arisen in Jammu and Kashmir, as I consider that it is imperatively urgent that we should be able to solve this impasse so that it would be of benefit to that State as also to the whole of India.

Before I do so, there are a few other matters which I would like to touch upon, as they raise certain important questions of principle. The international situation today is causing grave anxiety, especially after the recent decision of President Eishenhower to withdraw the ban which had been imposed on Formosa. In this respect, the attitude of Government has been made clear and I express my full concurrence with the announcement in this direction that has been made by the Prime Minister. We do not want that there should be an extension of the theatre of war, and everything possible should be done to avert a catastrophe which may not only destroy portions of Asia but may affect the stability of the entire world. But there are obvious limitations within which we have to function. We have not got that armed strength, that military strength, or those resources whereby we can enforce our will on others by merely saying things. Already, anxiety has been expressed by almost all democratic countries in the world that it would be extremely foolish and even destructive of the very objective which the United States of America may have in view, if anything is done to hasten the extension of the war zone. In fact, the Prime Minister has observed more than his usual caution in not speaking on this subject even on a single occasion. Perhaps, making too many speeches on such a delicate subject at such a critical time will not be of any help to anybody. We are all for maintaining peace and anything that India can do will be done with the least hesitation.

So far as the question of foreign policy is concerned, judging from the actual results that we have obtained, I do not know what exactly the foreign policy is. So far as matters that concern India are concerned, *viz.* India's status, India's self-respect and India's needs, somehow although our foreign policy has succeeded in the sense that it has received applause from many quarters, far and near, our friends seem to be running away from India whenever matters of grave import arise in the course of international deliberation. Especially where India's case comes up for consideration, we do not get the support that we feel we deserve. There is the case of South Africa. There is the case of Kashmir. There is the case of our dealings with Pakistan. In every one of these matters, somehow our stand, although legitimate, has not found the favour which it was entitled to receive at the hands of the big countries. This new development about MEDO is certainly disturbing, although here also I do not know what we can do by ourselves if Pakistan decides to join such an organisation. But it is not Pakistan's activity or intention alone that matters. What exactly is operating behind the scenes? What are the other countries that are interested in establishing such an organisation feeling about it? They are supposed to be friendly towards India. Our Prime Minister has expressed his view on this matter in a forthright manner that if this happens, then an emergency may arise and anything may develop out of this. Only this morning, a Press report has appeared in one of the newspapers. I am referring to a message by the P. T. I. and I need make no apology for bringing this matter to the attention of the House. It discloses how things are moving behind the scenes. That message says:—

> "Vice-Admiral Slater. Commander-in-Chief of Royal Navy's East Indies Station..."

I suppose he is a British officer—

> "..said here today that the question of Pakistan joining the MEDO had not yet come down to his level, but was still at political level. He made the statement while addressing a Press Conference on board his flag ship H.M.S. *Ceylon* which is at present here on a short visit.
>
> Three weeks ago, Admiral Wright of the U.S.A., who was then here in Karachi, had made a similar statement.

> Vice-Admiral Slater said that Pakistan had definitely strategic importance. He had come to Karachi since this would be one of his stations of operation should unfortunately a war break out. Vice-Admiral Slater who arrived here on Saturday is leaving for Bombay next Saturday..."

I do not know whether he would visit our Prime Minister in Delhi.

> "...He said he was not visiting the strategic Khyber Pass in Pakistan's north west frontier but would like to do so later on."

The point which I am stressing is that it is not Pakistan's desire to do something or not to do something that matters. What are these friends of ours—the British Government and the Amercian Government—who sometimes shower so profusely their bouquets on the head of our Prime Minister doing? What exactly is their intention towards India?

If some discussion is going on for the establishment of such an organisation, does India know about it? The Prime Minister said he knew nothing about it. We have to know therefore what our friends really want to do with regard to this matter. I shall not develop this matter. I know this is a delicate matter. But this is certainly a note of warning that these two very good friends of ours are moving in a direction which will not be consistent with the best interests of India. So far as the Prime Minister's information goes, they have not yét taken India into confidence.

Then comes the question of our relationship with Pakistan. The President's Address says that there has been a little change for the better. I do not know where that change is. Of course, if for the time being there has been a cessation of angry words, or there has been a cessation of some direct action method in some parts of Pakistan where minorities still live; you may say that thus there has been a little change. But with regard to fundamental matters we find very little change. Similarly with regard to the situation in East Bengal, we will deal with it at the time the Budget is considered. But here again I find a fatal sense of complacency in the President's Address: the situation has improved. Improvement in what sense? People are not coming in large numbers today. But they are not coming because of obvious difficulties arising out of passport system. Now here public opinion had expressed itself very strongly. Even though the Communist Party had not shared the views that the rest of us had put forward, even they were dissatisfied with the present situation and had suggested some other remedies. Unfortunately from the side of the Congress, from the side of Government no definite solution has been offered. It is just a continuance of the stalemate; it is just a continuance of the *status quo*, again waiting for some occasion when it would burst forth in a manner which might destroy peace and happiness of millions of people and also disturb the relationship between the two countries.

With regard to general matters relating to the economic condition in the country, the Five Year Plan is there. You read the President's Address and you feel that perhaps it has really succeeded in rousing considerable public enthusiasm. But how are you going to realise that it has not? It is not a question of blaming anybody. But the fact remains that somehow this Report, the recommendations contained in it have not been able to catch the imagination of the people. We would like to have some more information when the Budget comes. I hope the Finance Minister will keep us informed as regards the actual progress made for the implementation of the recommendations of the Planning Commission and also how the Finance Minister's expectations for the finance side of the scheme are being fulfilled. I had suggested this on the last occasion that Parliament should be kept fully informed of the progress, for by that means alone it would be possible for us to know whether the anticipations of Government are really being carried into effect. There is no question of non-cooperation: there is no question of saying anything ill of a scheme which may be able to do something good for the country. We are not opposed to the scheme as such. If the scheme can do some good, well and good. No one is opposed to it. But as a matter of fact, the proposals contained in the scheme have not been able to enthuse public opinion to that extent which was the expectation of the Prime Minister and of others.

I shall not go into the working of the community projects. In some of the areas it has just fallen flat and the people concerned, the villagers, do not know what all his means. When the Prime Minister goes a few thousands of rupees are spent; thousands of people are collected, speeches are made and so many things happen, but after that they just relapse into the

[Dr. S. P. Mookerjee]

same state of ignorance and into the same state of indifference as they were before the proposals started. In some places some good work has been done, but normally speaking, something is lacking which prevents the masses of the people appreciating that really these measures are intended to ameliorate their suffering.

So far as the trade, business and industrial position is concerned, it is patent now that a state of depression is slowly coming on. There is now the question of accumulation of large stocks of production in various industries. There is the question of disposing of goods which are there and people have not the purchasing capacity. The big tea industry is now tottering; the jute industry is facing a crisis. These are your organised industries which bring to the coffers of Government crores and crores of rupees by way of foreign exchange. Similarly, so far as unemployment goes, it is on the increase. There is discontent everywhere and unemployment among the middle class people especially is now assuming staggering proportions. The policy of retrenchment is coming. Perhaps retrenchment may be inevitable due to the withdrawal of controls and so forth, but that immediately creates fresh problems and there is no planned measure before the Government so as to prevent a social upheaval due to the loss of employment of thousands of people who for no fault of their own just find themselves on the streets today.

Rehabilitation is another thing. There again according to the Ministers' statement, rehabilitation has been almost complete, but actually the sufferings and agonies of these people know no bounds. The other day I was in Sealdah Station, going to some station on the border of West Bengal. There the officers themselves said that there are about 2,500 refugees who are there. Two had died on the previous day on the Sealdah Platform. People who are coming from different parts of India where they had been sent for rehabilitation were not satisfied with the arrangements there. Unfortunately there is no liaison. There is no attempt on the part of Government to know why these people are coming back from the areas where they had been sent. They are just met with resistance by Government. Hunger strike is going on in front of the house of the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

With regard to food, the Food Minister said that there is plenty of food available but famine is there still. This morning papers announced that in Trichinopoly yesterday a few people died of starvation. From Rajasthan similar reports have come. From Maharashtra reports are pouring in. In my own province in Sunderbans, which was once the granary of West Bengal, thousands of people today are starving. You do not know how many thousands of people have been compelled to sell their land for nothing. We have been pressing, we have been urging, that the Government, which represents a welfare State, should pass legislation and make it possible for those poor people who are compelled to give up their land for a song, to get their land back. You illegalise these so-called legal transactions. For that legislation is necessary. A levy has been imposed, but actually it has created a lot of dissatisfaction, especially in areas where there is shortage. There again the principles and policies are announced in one direction; the actual operation of these principles takes a different turn. We find today in various places that there is discontent.

There is the question of linguistic provinces. The President's speech makes some announcement that reformation of the new provinces or redrawing of the boundaries is possible not on linguistic consideration alone, but on other considerations as well, administrative, financial, etc. Assuming that this is perhaps a sound line of proceeding, how are you going to implement it? Must you wait until in other areas, another Sriramulu comes up, starts a fast and gives up his life? If you want that this question should be taken up, it would be necessary for you to set up an impartial tribunal which can go into the question in all the areas and set peoples' doubts at rest, maybe on the same principle Government have accepted. But if you just announce the principle and wait until agitation starts then you will be inviting trouble and there is no reason why you should do it.

With regard to the position in Jammu and Kashmir I come back to it. This is a matter which has been engaging the attention of the public and of the Government for the last so many weeks.

I know we have been maligned; we have been attacked and abused, and all sorts of motives have been hurled at us. Motives have been hurled at the Praja Parishad. I would beg of the House, and I would beg specially of the Prime Minister with whom I have been in correspondence for the last few weeks and who knows to a certain extent how I am trying to look at the problem, I would beg of everyone to examine the issues dispassionately. Let us not hurl abuses at each other. There may be other occasions when we may do so. But if once we decide not to cast motives at each other, if once we proceed on the assumption that all sides are proceeding in a *bona fide* manner and yet not agreeing with each other, it is only then that it will be possible to come to a settlement which will be fair and just.

I know the Prime Minister levels the charge of communalism on all of us. Whenever he cannot meet an argument that is the answer that he has to give. (*An Hon. Member*: He knows nothing more). I am quite prepared, I am not making a challenging suggestion, because I am getting sick of this charge which is unfounded, if we want to consider whether communalism exists in the country or whether it is openly advocated as a plank by any political organisation, let us fix a date for a debate and let us discuss the matter. Let Government bring forward its charges. Let us have a chance of replying. We do not want communalism in this country. We do not want that on the basis of religion or on the basis of caste one section of Indians should go on hating other sections. We want to see developed a society where people of diverse religions will be able to live as common citizens and enjoy common rights. If there is a feeling that something is being done opposite to this policy—which we say not—instead of talking in an abstract way, let us meet, privately if he so desires, let us all against whom such charges are levelled sit together and discuss. We are not enemies of this country. We are not people guilty of treason because we do not agree with you. It does not matter to which party people may belong. None of us is here for doing harm or deliberate injure to the State. Therefore, if Government comes forward with such a charge-sheet it is only fair and just that it must be a real charge-sheet and we must be able to understand each other's point of view. We may differ. But let us agree to differ in a gentlemanly way and not go on exchanging fireworks and exchanging abuses at each other, because it does not carry us anywhere

What is this Jammu and Kashmir agitation for? A few months ago I went to Jammu. In fact I spoke here just the day before I left for Jammu. I do not know much of that State, certainly not even perhaps one-hundredth of what the Prime Minister does. But yet I came into contact with people during my short stay there, and I saw those people and the working of the minds of those people whom the Prime Minister and Sheikh Abdullah would not touch. There may be men whose minds may be working in one direction. There may be persons who may think in a particular way, different from what I do. But certainly there cannot be anybody hundred per cent. bad or hundred per cent. good. Their approaches have to be examined; their fears and doubts have to be examined and dispelled.

The Dogras against whom this fight is going on are not a race of cowards. They are a community that has given the finest martial strength to India. They fought for the liberty of their country; they shed their blood for the good of this country. They are being shot down and their women are being molested and sent to jail, and the whole State is now in the midst of a terrible repression which was not witnessed perhaps even in the worst days of the British regime.

Will any question be settled through such means? Their fears have to be examined. It is not communal at all. If you want to give it a communal colouring, someone may come and say "the majority are Muslims and only Hindus are being attacked". Somebody may say "this is a communal attack against Hindus". But it is an attack by the State for certain reasons, good or bad.

What are the things they want? They want that the question of accession should be finalised. I know there are constitutional difficulties. But this is a matter which has to be settled, after understanding what their fears and doubts are. It is no use either Sheikh Abdullah or Shri Jawaharlal Nehru saying "we are satisfied that everything is all right". They have to be satisfied. And if you can satisfy them with regard to this question, then one big hurdle goes.

I have suggested various methods. I will not go into details at the moment. But I have suggested to the Prime Minister a number of possible alternatives through which this question can be decided. There is the question of finality of accession.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri (Azamgarh Distt.—East *cum* Ballia Distt.—West): What are your suggestions?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Well, I shall tell the hon. Member later on. There is the question of applicability of the Constitution of India. Now, let us see how this question arises. Sheikh Abdullah says that the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly enjoys a limited sovereignty. I can understand one sovereign Parliament in India, and that is the Parliament here. There cannot be two sovereign Parliaments in this country. But he is under the impression that according to the terms of the Constitution that we have approved he has got certain limited powers. I do not want to go into technicalities. Jammu and Kashmir is a part of the Indian Union, and that State has to be governed according to some Constitution. The suggestion is: accept the Indian Constitution. This is a Constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly which was dominated by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru himself. This is a Constitution which is based on secular considerations. It is not a Constitution dictated by any communal motives. If it is good enough for four crores of Muslims in India why can it not be good for the people of Jammu and Kashmir?

But there again there is a compromise suggested, namely, let those provisions of the Constitution which relate to fundamental matters be implemented. Some of them were declared here on the floor of the House in July. They have not been implemented till now. It is said that they have not been implemented because the movement has started! A more frivolous and fantastic reply could not have been given. The agreement was reached in July, and till November nothing was done. And in November, only a part application of that agreement was sought to be made. And it is suggested that because the movement started the argeement could not be implemented. They are not ready with the implementation yet. It is only today that the announcement has been made that a Committee has been set up for clarifying certain issues. The Prime Minister knows this better than anybody. Certain issues have to be clarified. There are a number of matters, fundamental rights, Supreme Court, President's powers, financial integration, abolition of customs duty. I have added conduct of elections under one authority for the whole of this country.

If in respect of these matters Sheikh Abdullah and his party say "we will not accept one hundred per cent. of your Constitution", well, let us know which portion they desire to see embodied. We can sit together, not as one party opposite to the other, but as friends, consider and agree that for special reasons certain exemptions should be made.

For instance Lands. If you want to have a special law for Jammu and Kashmir, that for acquisition of land no compensation should be paid, and if it has succeeded in the State, provide for it. We will not question it. But finalise matters with regard to civil rights, financial integration, abolition of customs duties. It is a disgrace that we should have today in India customs duties for one part. The answer given is that they will lose one crore of rupees and odd. Well, that one crore we will have to provide for. All parties in this House will support the Finance Minister if he says that for the purposes of full integration of that State to India we will have to make a separate grant of that sum to Jammu and Kashmir. You can forgo fifty crores of rupees for enforcing prohibition. You must do something for unifying the economic life of our country of which Jammu and Kashmir is a part. Do you suggest that we will continue this customs duty, which is operating so harshly against the people of that State themselves?

These are matters which have got to be finalised. On the question of the flag let me say it is not a question of mere sentiment. The Prime Minister said the other day: Oh, these people who are agitating about this want their Bhagwa flag to be raised over the Red Fort if the occasion arises. He mistakes the issue. It is not a question of the Bhagwa flag. The Congress accepted its flag with some alterations. It is the National flag of India now. Supposing some party, when they come into power, decide to change the design or the colour of the flag. That is not a crime We have not said that the Bhagwa flag should be flown where the RSS rule; the Communist Party will have the red flag where they rule or the Socialist Party will have their red flag where they rule or the Congress will have their own flag flying where they govern. Nobody has suggested that. Let there be one flag for the whole country. The Prime Minister has assured me and he has publicly stated that the Indian flag is the supreme flag and the other flag is subordinate to it. Very well. Let us accept it. Through that way I see the path of compromise. Let the Indian flag fly over Jammu and Kashmir State every day like other States That point can be settled—the State flag may be used on special occasions.

Then there is the question of going into their grievances. A Commission has been appointed. What Commission? The Commission consists of 4 persons. The Chief Justice is one of them—I need not say anything now about him—he is the Chief Justice of the State. Who were the other gentlemen? How many Members of the House know what is the composition of that Commission? One is the Revenue Commissioner, the second is the Accountant General and the third is the Conservator of Forests. These are the three officers of the State who have been put into that Commission of Enquiry. Is it suggested that a Commission consisting of three officers of that State will sit and go into very vital matters which challenge the soundness of the position of that State? Is this ever done when any controversy arises? Why not have an impartial Commission consisting of the Chief Justice and two Judges of High Court in India and why not widen the terms of reference and say that whatever grievances there are, that Commission will go into—any economic matter or a social matter or an educational matter, whatever that may be? We have a long list of grievances. I do not wish to go into them but that is one thing in which you can find a solution. Now, these are the matters which have to be solved. Now, I ask the House which are the matters which savour of communalism. You start referring to their past history, their father's history, grandfather's history. Why drag the poor Maharaja? He was loyal to the country. What offence did this Maharaja commit? He accepted accession. He handed over power to the Government of India. He handed over power to Sheikh Abdullah. Shiek Abdullah's ascendancy on the political throne there was possible through the legal decision of the Maharaja himself. So, why drag him? Now he has gone. He is finished. Now you say that the agitation is going on for vested interests. What vested interests? Will the people of Jammu, if they succeed in the agitation, take charge of the entire State? They have made it clear that they have no political ambition as such. How can they possibly give help to vested interests in such a manner that that will disturb the stability of the State, the unity of the State? I entirely agree with the Prime Minister that the unity of the State of Jammu and Kashmir must be preserved at any cost. In fact we must recover one-third of the territory of the State which we lost, if we have a sense of national prestige. It is a matter of disgrace that one-third territory of ours is now in the hands of the enemy.

I am not suggesting that you break the State of Jammu and Kashmir into bricks. The suggestion which I once made as a compromise formula to Sheikh Saheb was that if the whole State cannot accept India's Constitution immediately, it may do so in parts. That was a second alternative, but even then Kashmir would remain within India. Let us declare that Jammu will remain as one State. Let us declare that the provincial boundaries also will not be disturbed. Already the province of Jammu is now being divided on communal grounds. Of course the reply is that the intention is not communal but the decision may be communal. You are creating Hindu zones and Muslim zones within the Province. Keep the Province of Jammu intact, keep Ladakh intact, even if you want to have the scheme of provincial autonomy provided for them. These are matters of negotiations. They can be settled without breaking heads or without creating any controversy.

So far as the origin of the movement is concerned, you can rightly say, as the Prime Minister has told me a number of times "do you expect that I shall tolerate this sort of disobedience, deliberate disobedience of law? This deliberate disobedience is a challenge to authority." I agree that on normal occasions, this should not be the procedure. We expect that in a democratic Constitution such as ours, we should be able to proceed in a manner that we get redress of our grievances through constitutional means. Undoubtedly, that should be our aim and I hope that that will be the ultimate result of our joint endeavours. Supposing a situation arises where through the adamant attitude taken up by the Government, because of the majority at its command, they refuse to do anything for the people who are opposing their policy and you goad them to a certain course of action of your own, what happens then? It is your own inability to cope with the situation that may exasperate people. Is it not a fact that the Praja Parishad sent representations during the last two years to the President, to the Prime Minister, to Sheikh Saheb? They begged for an interview from the Prime Minister who refused to grant an interview only about a year ago. They could not get an interview from the President. He said "It is not my concern, you see the Department." Sheikh Abdullah was not prepared to move. You have removed social untouchability under your Constitution but you are creating political untouchabi-

[Dr. S. P. Mookerjee]

lity because you cannot see eye to eye with certain people whose politics you do not approve. Do you believe you will be able to run this Government in this way? I say this without any fear of contradiction that this movement would never have been started if only there was a chance of representing their view to the people in authority, if only there was no attempt to give piecemeal effect of the agreement which was passed here. Now, practically the movement has been forced upon them. Before the movement started, when I came back from Jammu, I saw Pandit Nehru, I saw Sheikh Abdullah Believe me. I went out of my way and pleaded for a change of attitude. I was extremely anxious that in view of the possible repercussions and the war that was impending with Pakistan and also the experiment which Sheikh Abdullah has made, I was anxious—even today I am anxious—that we should forget the past and proceed in a statesmanlike way and settle all our differences. I have not concealed my admiration over the manner in which Sheikh Abdullah has conducted himself whatever might be said against his policy. I told him personally and I said it in public that here was a man who was making an experiment which our national Leaders failed to make and which resulted in the vivisection of the country. I appealed to him "For heaven's sake, go to Jammu and make the people feel that they are not outsiders and you are the real leader for the Hindus and Muslims." I saw the danger signal in Jammu. Psychologically. I regret to say that both Sheikh Abdullah and Pandit Nehru have been unable to cope with the situation and to go near the minds of the people of Jammu.

گیانی جی - ایس - مسافر (امرتسر) :
پہلے ایجی ٹیشن بند ہونی چاہئے -

[**Giani G. S. Musafir** (Amritsar): The agitation should be stopped first.]

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I am glad he has spoken something which is not audible. So far as this question is concerned. it is a matter which needs serious and dispassionate consideration. It may be that the Maharaja, a Dogra, was at the head of the Government which was not liked by the majority of Muslims but when the table was turned, it was essential that these Dogras should not be singled out as a community which had been guilty of bad conduct or bad motives. There was a ruthless attack on the Maharaja personally. It was unnecessary because he had gone out of the picture. The Dogras have been branded as a community which had gone and dominated over the Kashmir Valley. Psychologically, you could not bring the people nearer you. That is why I appeal to you to go near them even at this stage. You talk to them, send for their representatives, understand their viewpoints and thus create a situation which will make it possible for all of us to stand united.

. Now, what is the remedy? I come to my last, the last point which I would like to place before the House. What is the remedy? Is repression a remedy? The Prime Minister said yesterday in the Council of States that he had a list of 100 persons, police men, etc., who had been attacked, buildings which had been mobbed and other kinds of outrage which have been committed. Pamphlets have been circulated to us. I have got about 8 or 10 of them with me but there is the other side of the picture also. I have got here reports of the repression which have been carried on. If I read them I know you will stand aghast. I have not the proof to show that whatever said is true or not, just as I have not the means to say whatever has been circulated by the Abdullah Government is true or not. I wanted to send a small delegation of responsible people including three legislators. Such is the State of Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Union: permits were refused. Certain political parties are allowed to go; certain political parties are not allowed to go. I had declared that they would not interfere; only they will go, see and come back. Even that was not allowed. They say, they are out for violence. You judge by the results. Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, the Chief Minister of Punjab has declared that these people are carrying arms and ammunition. Are the arms and ammunition from Punjab turned into Kashmiri *laddus* and carried to Jammu? Where are the arms and ammunition going? Not one person has been killed on the official side. Has anybody made any assertion that one man has been killed on the official side? How many have been killed on the other side? The official figures are 11. The names which have been handed over to me come to 20. There are twenty more who are missing, some of whom are supposed to have been thrown into flaming fire which was lit by kerosene oil. Their number comes to 20. Whether it is 20 or 40, they have been shot dead. Two thousand have been sent to prison. They are not Hindus alone. There are Hindus, Muslims, men and women of all classes and conditions of society. Some have been taken and thrown into cold water. Two,—their names are here—have died of pneumonia as a result. Men and women have been brought out naked. They have been forced to apologise. Some have been placed on slabs of ice. Women have been molested and assaulted. Do these represent the functioning of democracy? Are we fighting for the safety of Jammu and Kashmir, for the purpose of perpetuation of this kind of authority, this kind of rule? Do they represent Gandhism?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazaribagh West): No.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: You talk of Gandhism, Gandhian style and the healing touch. Suppose they are in the wrong. If I come forward and say, let us have an honourable settlement and bring this to an end, what right has any democratic leader to say, we will not touch you, we will, not talk to you, you are guilty of communalism? Has any Muslim been killed? Has any section of Muslims been attacked in the province of Jammu where the Muslims form a majority? What is it that you have decided now? The National Militia is to be let loose on them. I got a report only yesterday that that has already been started. The National Militia, consisting of Sheikh Abdulla's party men, mostly Muslims, are to be let loose on these people in these villages. You say they are communalists. You are fanning the fire of communalism and you do not know where it will lead to. I do not want this to continue. Let us put an end to it. How to put an end to it? Prestige or what is it? What is the suggestion that I make publicly to the Prime Minister? Let us forget the past. Let us not judge who was right and who was wrong. Let us take them at their word and hear their demand and their needs. Release them and send for them. Do not make any commitment now. Send for them. Let us understand the difficulties, constitutional and political. Tell them, here we are to give an assurance with regard to the future status. Their grievances will be enquired into by an impartial Commission. Let us make an attempt. We talk of Gandhism. We hold a school here and make it an international show as to what Gandhism has been and how India is being ruled. Is this the type of Gandhism that you refuse to talk to some people because they are your political opponents, because their past is bad? Who is there to probe into the past of every one of us? You judge the present difficult political situation according to the present requirements. What did the British Government do? Did not the British Government carry on repression? Did they not then say that they will not touch the Naked *Fakir*? Did not the gentleman who is the present Prime Minister of England say, no compromise with the Naked *Fakir* and did not that Naked *Fakir* bring freedom to this country? How do you say that you will not talk to your opponents because of their past? What did Sheikh Abdulla do? Did not the Maharaja and he fight with each other? Did not the Maharaja shake hands with him and did he not himself in his own writing make Sheikh Abdulla the chief person in the State of Jammu and Kashmir? Are we to carry in our breasts past stories, past history, and thereby aggravate a situation which will destroy not only certain sections, but the entire peace and prosperity of this country? Take us as friends. If we are wrong, correct us. We are not sitting here with any outsiders. This Table does not divide us. This Table is your Table. It does not divide the minds of men. Why should we go on quarrelling in this way? Trust us. Sit down with us. If anybody has committed any wrong, tell them that in the national interests this should not be done. Give them a chance. Let us see whether we can proceed in that manner or not. You will not be able to destroy the Dogras. I have seen some of them, fine elements. It brought tears to my eyes. I saw some men and women; great people, patriotic people, fearless people. They have not been violent up till now. I advised them that if any movement, if any protest is to be carried on, it must be on the basis of non-violence. Because, you cannot fight the organised violence of the State and you will lose the sympathy and co-operation of the people. It is a question of civil right. It is a question of their life and death, of their very existence. Believe them. I have seen Prem Nath Dogra, whom I respect with all my heart. I am not ashamed of that. I have met many people in my life. There may be men, good or bad or greater than Prem Nath Dogra. He is a loyal citizen, a quiet sufferer. He is a leader who does not lose his head. Do you know how many years ago his pension was stopped? I myself did not know. When I met him a few months ago in Jullundur, he was talking about his private affairs. He said, Doctorsab, I am a

[Dr. S. P. Mookerjee]

poor man. I said, "why, you are a Government pensioner?" He said "Sheikh Abdullah Saheb has deprived me of that long ago." I asked, "you never protested?" He said, "why should I?" Democracy is functioning in this way. The pension given by the Jammu and Kashmir Government has been withdrawn because his politics was not liked. He has started the movement today. But, when was the pension withdrawn?

There are people belonging to Jammu, refugees, who have their money in the Jammu and Kashmir Bank. Does the Finance Minister know that they are not allowed to draw their money because they cannot produce their documents? They went to the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir and the High Court gave an order that the money should be paid. An Ordinance had been passed prohibiting the Bank from paying this money. These are the grievances which have to be looked into. What about the Dharmartha Trust which Raja Gulab Singh and his successors created? It may be for the preservation of Hindu temples. Is that a crime? Preservation of Hindu temples in India can be done by means of a Trust. That money is not allowed to be paid. Why is it not done? These are matters which have to be gone into. Each may be a small matter or a big matter. It is the cumulative effect of these as also the persistent refusal of the authorities to sit down and talk to the representatives of the people that have brought about this situation.

Even now, my appeal to the Prime Minister is this. Let us forget the past. Let him take up the matter. He can rise equal to the occasion. He can deliver the goods with Sheikh Abdulla. I do not say for a moment that you should minimise the stature of Sheikh Abdulla. I do not wish for a moment that you should humiliate the Government because, then whom do I humiliate? Our own Government elected by the people of the country. It is not a question of mutual humiliation or gaining one point here or losing another point there. It is the question of the settlement of an issue which is of national importance and which may create serious problems and destroy the peace and happiness of large parts of India and I appeal to the Prime Minister to move before it is too late. We have been charged and branded as encouraging the movement. I repudiated it earlier on the floor of the House and I repudiate it now. It is not our movement. The movement is theirs, spontaneous; not a Praja Parishad movement; the movement has spread and various classes of people have come into it. We have sympathised with it. We have supported it. We have extended our blessings to it. We have done that because it is not a struggle of Jammu, it is a struggle of the people of India.

And we have looked at it from that point of view. But we are not on the war path. We cannot threaten. If we also suffer with them, we suffer at the hands of a ruthless Government which is all powerful. What right have we to threaten anybody, and what power have we to threaten anybody? It is not a question of threatening. The war clouds are there. God knows what will happen to this country. If somebody has gone wrong, let us sit down even at this stage. That was Gandhism. He did not decry his opponents. He sent for everyone who differed from him even to the utmost extent, sat with them, talked with them, and tried to capture their hearts. I have not the least doubt in my mind that if that attempt is made by Shri Nehru and Sheikh Abdulla, if these people are sent for, and say to them: "We are your friends. Let us sit down and discuss the matter, and not raise any other issue and your legitimate grievances will be looked into", the matter will be settled in ten minutes' time. It is that magnanimity, that generosity and statesmanship to which I ask the Prime Minister to rise at this critical juncture.

Let me assure the Prime Minister that however much he may decry and distrust us, we also have a little hold on this country. The elections were fought a few days ago. (*Interruption*). What is that "Ha, ha?" That is admiration or what is it? So far as these elections are concerned, they are important for this reason. I saw with my eyes how powerfully the resources of the Government can be made to operate for the purpose of winning the election. I can tell the Prime Minister some time later. He does not know, many of the top leaders do not know that money and wine played their part in many a sphere. You talk of Gandhism.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): It is disgraceful the way this charge is being made.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I am glad the Prime Minister said it is disgraceful. It is indeed disgraceful that such things should happen.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Is it right that, in the course of this debate, the hon. Member should bring these charges? To make these wild, irresponsible and fantastic charges is perfectly disgraceful for the hon. Member. This itself shows the nature of his entire speech,......

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Good, very good.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ....the mentality behind it, the irresponsibility behind it.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: His temper shows more than anything else his incapacity to rule over this country. Let us not cloud the issue.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I ask the hon. Gentleman. I challenge him to either prove or withdraw his remark about wine and women.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I never said "women". I never used it.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: You did.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I said money and wine. I do not know whether women were used, but I never used the word "women".

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I challenge the hon. Member to prove his irresponsible statement.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may conclude. It is unnecessary to bring in the elections. It is a purely provincial matter. They will have to look into the matter.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: There is no use losing any temper.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is only the hon. Member's right, I suppose to lose his temper and say these things.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: It is the eternal right of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru always to lose his temper and our eternal duty to submit to it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member when he is on his legs must know that the House is very attentively and carefully hearing him. There was absolutely no interruption at all except unfortunately for this incident which was not germane to the issue, and unnecessarily the placid atmosphere of the House was disturbed. I hope he will conclude.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I am sorry I have disturbed the temper of the House and of the Prime Minister. If he smiles a little, I shall know that he accepts this.

I do beg of him this whatever you may say, let us proceed to the main subject matter of the debate, and let us try to find out some formula whereby the Jammu question can be settled. Whatever may be said against us, whatever motives may be ascribed to us. I can give this assurance to the Prime Minister that in case an emergency arises in this country—we all hope the war clouds will not develop; we all hope that the clouds will disappear—but, in case, such a contingency arises, on behalf of the party that I represent, including the much-maligned groups, I offer our unconditional allegiance and support to the Government. If such a condition arises, it will be the duty of everyone to stand by the Government so that the interests of the country may be kept supreme. The maintenance of peaceful atmosphere in the country is imperative. I hope, Sir, by means of mutual discussion and understanding we will be able to make the interests of the people of Jammu and Kashmir safe. Let us consider the case on its merits dispassionately and reach a solution which will be to the lasting benefit of the State as also of the entire country.

श्री अल्गू राय शास्त्री (जिला आजमगढ़ पूर्व व जिला बलिया-पश्चिम) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर, जो प्रो० श्रीमन नारायण अग्रवाल जी ने धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया है उसका हार्दिक समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं। मैं यह समर्थन इसलिये कर रहा हूं कि मुझ को इस भाषण में न तो कोई ऐसी बात दिखाई पड़ती है जिसकी कोई आलोचना की जा सकती हो और न कोई ऐसी बात दिखाई पड़ती है जो अनावश्यक हो। कुछ बढ़ा कर कोई बात कही गई हो या इस में कोई बात शेखी मारने की हो यह दिखाई नहीं पड़ती। जो कुछ सरकार ने किया है जो उस की नीति रही है और उसका जो आगे कार्यक्रम है उसका सीधी सादी सरल भाषा में इस भाषण के अन्दर उल्लेख है। हमारी सरकार जो कर रही है उसके कारण देश की सब दिशाओं में प्रगति हुई है और उन्नति हुई है। उसका स्पष्ट विवरण हम को इस भाषण से मिलता है। किसी अच्छे राष्ट्र

[श्री अल्गू राय शास्त्री]

के लिये आवश्यक है कि उस की जनता की आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के लिये जो सामग्री है उस का उत्पादन बढ़े । पिछले वर्षों में उत्पादन बढ़ा है । चाहे कपड़े का हो, चाहे अन्न का हो और चाहे दूसरी आवश्यक वस्तुओं का हो, सब की प्रगति और सबकी उन्नति इस भाषण के पढ़ने से दिखाई पड़ती है । किन्तु यदि हम इस के तीसवें पैराग्राफ (paragraph) को देखें तो उस में जहां राष्ट्रपति ने इस बात पर सन्तोष प्रकट किया है कि देश ने पिछले वर्षों में सभी दिशाओं में उन्नति की है वहां वह इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं कि जो हमारा अन्तिम लक्ष्य है जो हमारा ध्येय है अपने राष्ट्र के सब व्यक्तियों के लिये, सब आदमियों के लिये और पूरी जनता के लिये सुखकारी राज्य बनाने का जो हमारा लक्ष्य है वह अभी पूरा नहीं हुआ । उन्होंने बहुत स्पष्ट शब्दों में स्वीकार किया है कि यदि दरिद्रता बाकी रहती है, बेकारी बाकी रहती है और कुछ थोड़े ही आदमी उन्नतिशील दशा में हैं तो हम नहीं मान सकते कि हमने अपने लक्ष्य को पूरा कर लिया है । तो फिर इस के बाद ऐसी कौन सी बात रहती है कि जिस के ऊपर हम किसी प्रकार का रोष प्रकट कर सकते हैं या कोई आलोचना कर सकते हैं ।

कोई राष्ट्र एक दिन में नहीं बनता । हमारे विद्वान मित्र श्यामाप्रसाद मुखर्जी ने कुछ दरिद्रता का वर्णन किया कि एक आदमी यहां भूख से मरा और ऐसे चार आदमी वहा पड़े हुए हैं जिनके पास वस्त्र नही हैं । यह तो जरूर दिखाई पड़ता है किन्तु हम को यह दिखाई नही पड़ता कि इतने बड़े विशाल देश में जो सुविधायें पहुंचाई गई हैं उन के कारण इस शासन व्यवस्था की प्रशंसा करने की भी कोई बात है या नहीं । किसी शासन के सूत्र को चलाने वाले को चाहे सकारण हो या अकारण कोसा ही जाता हो तो यह तो एक कृतन्घता की बात है । आज यदि इस देश में कोई स्थायी सरकार नहीं होती यदि इस देश में कोई सुदृढ़ शासन व्यवस्था नहीं होती तो जहां आज हम अपने जीवन को जिस तरह से सुव्यवस्थित पाते हैं वहां हम अराजकता का राज्य पाते, किन्तु यह नहीं है । हम देखते हैं कि लोग अपने कामों में लगे हुए हैं।

४ म० प०

पंच वर्षीय योजना की भी आलोचना हुई है । एक ऐसी योजना जो कि देश को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये आई है एक ऐसी योजना जिस में जनता का अपार उत्साह है । मैं नहीं जानता कि मेरे मित्र श्री श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी या दूसरे ऐसे मित्र जो पंच वर्षीय योजना में कोई उत्साह नहीं पाते वह जिन प्रान्तों या प्रदेशों से आते हैं वहां का वातावरण कैसा है । किन्तु मैं अपने प्रदेश की बात बतलाता हूं । अभी हम ने एक सप्ताह मनाया और उस सप्ताह में उत्तर प्रदेश के प्रत्येक जिले में प्रत्येक नगर में पंचायत के क्षेत्र में जनता ने स्वेच्छा से श्रमदान किया है । सड़कें बनाई हैं, तालाब खोदे हैं, स्कूल की इमारतें बनाई हैं, अस्पताल की इमारतें बनाई हैं । जनता ने स्वयं अपने हाथों जो कार्य किया है उस की प्रेरणा इसी पंचवर्षीय योजना से प्राप्त हुई है । तो यह कहना कि न तो कम्युनिटि प्रोजेक्ट (community project) का कार्यक्रम चल रहा है, न पंचवर्षीय योजना में जनता को उत्साह है सत्य के विरुद्ध बात कहनी है । सच्ची बात यह है कि सरकार का जो कार्य है वह जनता में नया उत्साह और नया जीवन पैदा कर रहा है चाहे इस की कितनी ही आलोचना की जाय । कितनी

ही बातें इस के विरुद्ध कही जायें किन्तु वह सब वास्तविकता से भिन्न हैं। हमारे देश में प्रजातन्त्र की प्रणाली चल रही है। प्रजातन्त्रीय प्रणाली के माने यदि यह हैं कि विरोधी दल के लोग सरकार के ऊपर केवल आक्षेप किया करें और उस के ऊपर अनर्गल लांछन लगाया करें तब यह डिमाक्रेसी (democracy) या प्रजातन्त्रीय व्यवस्था कैसे चल सकती है? कोई भी सरकार किस प्रकार अपने कार्यों में सफल हो सकती है और किस प्रकार अपनी योजना को पूरा कर सकती है यदि विरोधी दल केवल उस का विरोध ही किया करें? दूसरे देशों में मुझे कभी यह सुनाई नहीं पड़ता। मैं ने कभी नहीं सुना कि रूस में कोई विरोधी दल का भी आदमी है जो सरकार के विरोध में उस की नीतियों के विरुद्ध इस प्रकार से उच्च स्वर में अलाप करता हो। मुझे नहीं दिखाई पड़ता कि चीन की सरकार के विरुद्ध कोई विरोधी दल ऐसा है जो किसी प्रकार की आलोचनात्मक बातें करता हो। या तो हम उस सरकार के अनुकूल बात करें या चुप रहें। उन राज्यों में यह दिखाई पड़ता है। किन्तु हमारे राष्ट्र में गला फाड़ फाड़ कर सरकार के विरोध में बातें करने की आदत पड़ गई है इस कारण हम को दिखाई नहीं पड़ता कि सरकार किस प्रकार कार्य कर रही है और कैसी दुर्व्यवस्था से निकाल उस ने राष्ट्र को आगे बढ़ाने का कार्य किया है।

मेरे मित्र ने जम्मू और काश्मीर के प्रश्न का कुछ उल्लेख किया। वह प्रधान मंत्री से राजनैतिक बुद्धिमत्ता और उदारता की प्रार्थना करते हैं मैं भी उन के इस शब्द का समर्थन करूंगा और जैसा कि भाषण के ९वें पैराग्राफ (paragraph) में लिखा है, राष्ट्रपति ने ठीक ही कहा कि जो आन्दोलन परिषद् चला रही है वह आन्दोलन बिल्कुल एक उन्मार्गगामी आन्दोलन है और जनता को रास्ते से दूर ले जाने वाला है। लेकिन अन्त में उन्हों ने कहा कि यदि कोई उचित शिकायत है तो उस को सुनी जायगा और उचित कार्यवाही करने की व्यवस्था की जायेगी ९वें पैराग्राफ (paragraph) के अन्तिम दो वाक्यों में आशा की बड़ी भारी किरण दिखाई पड़ती है। यह राजनैतिक बुद्धिमत्ता है कि राजनैतिक उदारता सरकार की तरफ से आ सकती है। हम जानते हैं कि यह सारा प्रश्न यू० ऐन० ओ० (U.N.O.) के सामने है, हम जानते हैं कि मतगणना के बारे में हम ने एक प्रतिज्ञा कर रक्खी है। हम वादे करते हैं, हम प्रतिज्ञायें करते हैं, हम वचन भरते हैं, तो उन वचनों का पालन करना चाहिये।

"प्रतिश्रुति करिष्येति उक्तं वाक्य मकुर्वतः
इष्टापूर्त वधो भूयात् . . . ." ॥

जो आदमी वादा करता है राजनैतिक प्रतिज्ञायें करता है, और वचन भरता है और फिर उसको पल भर में ही तोड़ देता है, इच्छानुसार उस को पूरा नहीं करता है उस की शासन व्यवस्था अविश्वासनीय होती है, और उस का हित नहीं हो सकता। इस कारण यदि हम ने प्लेबिसाइट (plebiscite) का वचन दे रक्खा है, हम ने मत गणेना का हक, काश्मीर के भविष्य के निर्णय करने का हक उन्हीं को दे रक्खा है और वह प्रश्न अभी लटक रहा है और बीच में ही हम ने नई बात छेड़ दी। इस में कौन सी बुद्धिमत्ता है कि जनता के मामूली सेन्टिमेन्ट्स (sentiments) को ले कर झंडे के प्रश्न, नागरिकता के प्रश्न, सदरे रियासत के प्रश्न और दूसरे नन्हें नन्हें जो प्रश्न हैं उन को ले कर मौलिक प्रश्न के सामने खड़ा कर दिया जाय। अभी प्लेबिसाइट (plebiscite) बाकी है कहां होगा जम्मू, कहां होगा काश्मीर अगर प्लेबिसाइट (plebiscite) का फैसला दूसरा हो जाता है। जो

[श्री अल्गू राय शास्त्री]

वहां के नेता हैं, जो वहां की गवर्नमेंट में हैं और जनता को अपने साथ ले कर चलते हैं, जिन की राजनैतिक बुद्धिमत्ता से हमारे श्यामा प्रसाद जी को विश्वास है जिन के लिये यह माना जाता है कि जो काम उन्हों ने पूरा किया है और कर रहे हैं, वह हमारी बधाई के पात्र हैं। जब स्थिति यह है तो हमें यह देखना चाहिये कि अगर हम में राजनैतिक बुद्धिमत्ता है तो "अल्पस्य हेतोः बहु हातुमिच्छन् विचारमूढः

प्रतिभासि मं त्वम्,"

हम एक अंश को लेना चाहते हैं, मगर सम्पूर्ण को गंवाने का खतरा उठा लेते हैं एक आन्दोलन को छेड़ कर। और उस से एक कम्यूनल (communal) या साम्प्रदायिक वातावरण पैदा हो जाता है। जो संचालकों या परिषदी लोगों का आन्दोलन है उस के लिये कहा जाता है कि वह प्रश्न तो सीधा सादा है। जनता को भ्रम में डालने की पूरी गुंजायश इस में है। आन्दोलन इस के लिये है कि काश्मीर भारत में मिल जाये, आन्दोलन इस के लिये है कि पूरी तरह काश्मीर संविधान के अनुसार नहीं मिला, केवल सीमित अंशों में ही मिला। हम आज इस का प्रश्न उठा कर लाते हैं और कहते हैं कि हमारी मामूली सी मांग है इस को पूरा क्यों नहीं करते ? नन्हीं नन्हीं मांगों को लेकर हम राजनैतिक कठिनाइयां बढ़ा देने के लिये कदम उठाते हैं और उस से उत्पन्न होने वाले वातावरण से हमारे सारे कार्यों पर पानी पड़ता नजर आता है। इस में राजनैतिक बुद्धिमत्ता की बात तो तब आये जब आदमी इस से बचे और इस तरह की बातें न करे जैसे कि यह आन्दोलन चला। तो मैं अपने मित्र श्यामा प्रसाद मुकर्जी और उनके जैसे प्रतिभाशाली विचार वालों से आशा करता हूं कि वह राजनैतिक उदारता और दूरदर्शिता दिखाने की जो मांग प्रधान मन्त्री से करते हैं उस का पहला अध्याय वह स्वयम् लिखें। हमारे राष्ट्रपति जैसे बुद्धिमान, विचारशील और गम्भीर व्यक्ति ने कहा है कि यह आन्दोलन पथ भ्रष्ट आन्दोलन है, उन्मार्गगामी आन्दोलन है, ऐसी दिशा में हम को ले जाता है कि हम समूल नष्ट हो जायेंगे। पहले इस आन्दोलन को हटवा देना चाहिये। यह आन्दोलन बिना कंडिशन (condition) के समाप्त होना चाहिये। इस के हटने के बाद विचार किया जा सकता है। मैं इस बात से सहमत हूं कि झगड़ा हो जाता है, हम आवेश में आ कर एक काम कर डालते हैं, अंग्रेजों ने जलियां वाला बाग किया, मगर हम ने उन से भी समझौता किया और लार्ड माउन्टबैटन को प्रेम के साथ बिदाई दी, इसी तरह से सारी बातें मिलाई जा सकती हैं। आप तो हमारे भाई हैं इतने दिन तक हम आप के साथ रहते आये। हम को उन की कठिनाई सुन लेनी चाहिये, समझना चाहिये और उन को बुला कर बात करनी चाहिये। मगर आन्दोलन की धमकी में, आन्दोलन के दबाव में, आन्दोलन देश व्यापी होगा, इस आन्दोलन की आग कोने कोने में देश के फैलेगी, ऐसे विषाक्त वातावरण में राज्य से यह आशा करना कि वह कोई राउन्ड टेबिल कांफ्रेंस (Round Table Conference) जैसी चीज बुलावें और आप के सामने घुटने टेकें, ऐसी भावना को ले कर और एक विजयी आन्दोलन चला कर शासन व्यवस्था को नीचा दिखाने की मनोभावना से कोई बात हो तो वह मेरे विचार से आन्दोलन चलाने वालों के लिये कोई बुद्धिमत्ता की बात नहीं होगी।

तो मैं श्री श्यामाप्रसाद मुखर्जी से अनुरोध करूंगा उसी भावना से, उसी भावुकता से, उसी विनय से जिस से कि उन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री से कहा है कि वे इस प्रश्न पर विचार करें

और उदारता से विचार करें और वह आन्दोलनकारियों से अनुरोध करें कि वह आन्दोलन को समाप्त करें और तब अपनी बातों को, अपनी शिकायत को सरकार के सामने रखें । उन्हों ने कहा कि प्रेमनाथ जी ने मिलना चाहा लेकिन उन को अवसर नहीं मिला । अवसर नहीं मिला होगा । वह आज अवसर की मांग करें तो मैं उन से प्रार्थना करता हूं कि देश की उन्नति के हित में, काश्मीर के हित में, जम्मू के हित में और मानवता के हित में यह अनिवार्य है कि जम्मू का यह जो आन्दोलन है यह बिना शर्त समाप्त किया जाय और उस के बाद समझौते की बातचीत चलाई जाय । क्योंकि इस भाषण में यह साफ लिखा हुआ है "कि सरकार का यह विचार है कि जहां भी कोई न्यायपूर्ण शिकायतें होंगी उन की निःसंदेह जांच की जायगी और उन्हें दूर करने का हर प्रयत्न किया जायगा ।" इस से अधिक स्पष्ट शब्द सरकार की तरफ से उस की नीति के रूप में दूसरे नहीं हो सकते कि जो शिकायतों को दूर करने का प्रत्येक प्रयत्न करने को तैयार है । सरकार इन शब्दों में बंधी हुई है । तो जब ऐसी अवस्था है तो इस आन्दोलन के चलते रहने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं रह जाती है ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां इस भाषण में और बातों पर विस्तार से विचार किया गया है, इस में विदेश नीति पर भी विस्तार से विचार किया गया । हमारी विदेश नीति यही है कि हम सब के साथ शान्ति रखना चाहते हैं । यह दूसरी बात है कि यहां हमारे कुछ भाई जो कि एक विशेष दल के लोग हैं उन को उस में ऐसा दिखाई पड़ता है कि हमारी सरकार अमरीका के साथ या इंगलिस्तान के साथ कुछ ऐसी गांठ बांधे हुए है, उन के कुछ ऐसे असर में है कि सब कुछ उन के ही प्रभाव से करती है । यह उन की निगाह का दोष है, नहीं तो उनको इस भाषण में कोई ऐसी चीज़ नहीं दिखाई देती । शान्ति के साथ प्रश्नों को सुलझाने की हमारी सरकार की अपनी विदेशिक नीति रही है । किन्तु जो लोग सरकार को दोष देने की चेष्टा करते हैं कि यह सरकार अमुक गुटबन्दी के नीचे या किसी सत्ताधारी शासन व्यवस्था से बंधी हुई चलती है, तो वह अपनी तरफ नहीं देखते कि उन के अपने दिमाग पर एक खास किस्म की शक्ति का प्रभाव है और इसलिये वह हर प्रश्न को उसी नुक्ते निगाह से देखते हैं और सरकार को दोष देते हैं । ऐसे लोगों की बातों से जनता भ्रम में नहीं पड़ सकती और सरकार अपनी उस नीति पर जो किसी खास गुटबन्दी में न पड़ने की नीति रही है और जो कुछ आदर्शों के आधार पर अवलम्बित है, उसी शान्ति की नीति को ले कर चलना चाहती है । मुझे विशेष प्रसन्नता हुई इस भाषण में यह देख कर कि इस में यह साफ तौर से घोषित किया गया है कि जब तक इस देश पर कोई आक्रमण नहीं करेगा यह देश युद्ध में नहीं पड़ेगा । आक्रमण होने पर भारत युद्ध में पड़ेगा यह इस से इम्प्लीकेशन (implication) निकलता है कि हम कुछ ऐसे शान्ति के उपासक नहीं हैं कि हमारे यहां लड़ाई का नाम ही बहिष्कृत है । आक्रमणकारी को समझना चाहिये कि भारत की जनता अपनी रक्षा के लिये और अपने स्वाभिमान की रक्षा के लिए युद्ध से नहीं डरेगी । मैं श्यामा बाबू को उस उदारता के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूं जिस उदारता के साथ कि उन्होंने कहा है कि यदि ऐसा अवसर आयेगा तो वह अपने दल बल के साथ शासन का साथ देंगे । उन्होंने जो उदारता का परिचय दिया है उस की मैं प्रशंसा करता हूं । तो हम इस बात को देखते हैं कि हमारी सरकार की यह नीति साफ तरह से यहां घोषित हो गई है

[श्री अल्गू राय शास्त्री]

कि हम अनप्रोवोक्ड अटैक (unprovoked attack) करने वाले नहीं हैं मगर हम पर अटैक (attack) करने वाले को यह समझ लेना चाहिये कि वह किसी किचुओं की कौम पर आक्रमण नहीं कर रहा है । यह एक जीवित जाति है जो अपने देश की रक्षा के लिये और अपने आत्म सम्मान की रक्षा के लिए लड़ेगी । जो नीति इस भाषण में वर्णित है वह एक समीचीन नीति है और इस के लिये मैं राष्ट्रपति को धन्यवाद देता हूं ।

मैं दो शब्द और कहना चाहता हूं । जैसा कि इस भाषण में कहा गया है हमारा सर्वतोमुखी विकास हुआ है । मगर दरिद्रता अभी बाकी है, बेकारी भी बाकी है । यह सच बात है कि आज भी स्टेशनों पर भिखमंगे दिखाई देते हैं और यह भिखमंगे उन में से हैं जो कि कभी भीख नहीं मांगते थे । पंजाब से लोग हमारे यहां अपना धन और सम्पत्ति छोड़ कर आये हैं । आज उन के बच्चे भी भीख मांगते हुए देखे जाते हैं । एक सम्पन्न जाति का होते हुए भी उन को भीख मांगने के लिये विवश होना पड़ता है । हम अब भी कोढ़ियों को और अपाहिजों को भीख मांगते हुए देखते हैं । उन के लिये अभी तक कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है । इन को आश्रय देने के लिये कोई प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये और यह संस्थायें ज़िला बोर्डों, म्युनिसिपल बोर्डों और पंचायतों के आधीन चलाई जायें । यहां इन को अन्न वस्त्र मिले और इन का प्रबन्ध किया जाय । इसी तरह से अपनी उन बहिनों के लिये जिन को कि रोटी पैदा करने के लिये अपने तन को बेचना पड़ता है कुछ नहीं किया गया है । हम को इस चीज़ को अपने देश के लिये एक अभिशाप समझ कर इस को दूर करने का शीघ्र प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये ।

मैं एक शब्द और कहना चाहता हूं । हमारी जो छोटी छोटी स्टेट्स (states) हैं उन का सामूहिक संगठन यह केन्द्र है । नवाबों के जमाने में जब केन्द्रीय मुगल शासन था, उस समय जो नवाब होते थे वह केन्द्र के शक्तिशाली न होने के कारण अपने अपने प्रान्तों में अपनी अपनी नीति चलाया करते थे, जिस से राष्ट्र दुर्बल होता था । तो मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हमारी सरकार को घरेलू नीति में ज़रा कड़ाई से काम लेना चाहिये । हम देखते हैं कि आज कहीं सेल्स टैक्स (sales tax) का झगड़ा चल रहा है, उत्तर प्रदेश में पटवारियों का झगड़ा चल रहा है और इस तरह की बातें चल रही हैं । देखने में यह बातें छोटी छोटी मालूम होती हैं लेकिन जनता को इन से बहुत कष्ट होता है । केन्द्रीय सरकार को कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये कि वह इन चीज़ों को ज़रा सक्रिय दृष्टि से देख सके ।

मुझे इस बात की बड़ी प्रसन्नता है कि अन्न की, खाद्य की, स्थिति अच्छी है । १९ लाख टन के भंडार से अपना काम हम आरम्भ कर रहे हैं मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे फूड मिनिस्टर साहब ने सत्य स्थिति को समझ लिया है । और वह ठीक पथ पर चल रहे हैं ।

जिस तरह जम्मू में एक आन्दोलन छिड़ा हुआ है उसी तरह यहां भी काऊ स्लाटर (Cow slaughter) के नाम से एक आन्दोलन चल रहा है । लेकिन गाय के प्रश्न को धर्म का रूप नहीं देना चाहिये । अभी हमारे फूड मिनिस्टर ने पटना में बोलते हुए कहा था कि अगर जनता चाहती है तो हम को काऊ स्लाटर (Cow slaughter) के प्रश्न को लेना चाहिये और इस बात से नहीं डरना चाहिये कि यह कोई धर्म का प्रश्न हो जायेगा।

बल्कि जो लोग धर्म के नाम पर इस प्रश्न को उठा रहे हैं यदि सरकार इस प्रश्न को ले ले तो यह आन्दोलन समाप्त हो जायेगा । यह एक मौलिक प्रश्न है और इस का कृषि के साथ गहरा सम्बन्ध है । इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि सरकार गौ रक्षा के प्रश्न पर विचार करे और इस का कोई उचित प्रबन्ध करे ।

अन्त में मैं यही कहना चाहता हूं कि जो हमारे अपाहिज, कोढ़ी, बीमार भाई हैं उन के लिये आश्रय का प्रबन्ध किया जाय और जो हमारी बहिनें रोटी के लिये अपना तन बेचने को विवश होती हैं उन की दशा को सुधारा जाय। यह ऐसी चीजें हैं कि इन को करना अनिवार्य है और इन की उतनी ही आवश्यकता है जितनी कि पंचवर्षीय योजना की है । इन के लिये भी एक पंचवर्षीय योजना होनी चाहिये ।

अन्त में मैं राष्ट्रपति जी को धन्यवाद देने के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं ।

Shri Pataskar (Jalgaon): I rise to support the Motion of Thanks so ably moved by the hon. Member, **Mr. Agarwal.** The discussion has been going on for the last three days and I propose to refer to only two or three of the questions which have been referred to in all these speeches.

There has been some amount of critism in opposite direction so far as the foreign policy of this Government is concerned. But I would like to impress upon every section of the House that our foreign policy is to be judged by the conditions that exist in the world today. India has only recently attained its freedom and our strength is limited. The world is divided into two blocs which are using all their resources in money, men, skill, intelligence and everything possible for creating weapons of destruction. What should be and could be the policy of a country situated as we are when we find the world is faced with these conditions and that policy, as I would like to put it in a few words, is the policy of alignment with no bloc.

We know several factors, and a reference has been made to the change in the party constitution so far as the U.S.A. is concerned, but there cannot be any concrete suggestion by anybody as to what course we should follow to do something in the matter. Even the hon. Member Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, though he referred to that, had to content himself by saying that he would not go into details because that ultimately must be left to the Government in power to decide as the exigencies that change from time to time require this Government to act. Our country is perilously situated between the two blocs—the Anglo-Americans and the Russians. The Russians are spreading their sphere of influence in China, Tibet and in the eastern countries. The Anglo-American bloc is influencing whether politically or economically in certain other spheres in countries which lie to the west of ours. And the only policy, therefore, which we could follow consistently with the interests of our country is the policy of non-alignment with any bloc and I find that on that ground there ought not to be any difference of opinion so far as the reasonable sections of the public, apart from party considerations, are concerned. I know that there are people and parties who desire that we should be in one particular bloc. There are parties and groups which desire that we should be in the other bloc. But during the last five years, any wrong step on our part in aligning ourselves with one bloc or the other would have wrought disaster on this country. Unless we follow the present policy consistently and persistently and in a logical manner, I believe, our country may have to face what Korea is facing now, in no distant future. The world as we know is moving in a perilous direction so far as these two blocs are concerned and I would think that the interest of a nation like ours lies naturally in not aligning with any bloc and whatever may be the considerations or the learnings which prompt one party or the other. I think that the correct foreign policy is the one which we have been following so far and which has yielded good results.

Then there has been in the country as well as in the House a good deal of debate with respect to what is happening in Kashmir. This question was debated even during the last session and there was a day allotted for the discussion of this subject and just now we have had a very powerful and a very passionate speech and appeal from our hon. friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee. The only point in this connection, which is ig-

[Shri Pataskar]

nored by those parties is this. Supposing we were to concede that all this agitation of the Praja Parishad is not, as they say, actuated by motives of any party or communal considerations, then I would like to put them a very simple question. Is it not a fact, that one third of the original State of Jammu and Kashmir is still under the heels of the aggressor? Supposing there are some legitimate grievances which the people of Jammu and Ladakh have got, then is it not desirable that we should wait till there is a final solution of this question? I know there are groups which are very impatient to arrive at a decision but things are not entirely in our hands. A wrong step may make us lose that for which we have been struggling for the last three or four years, for which a number of our soldiers have shed their blood in defence of Kashmir. Therefore, why not wait for some time and not do anything in haste which will imperil the very thing for which we have been struggling so hard during the last few years. I would equally emphatically appeal to those people and to every section of this House to consider what would be lost if we were to wait for some time.

My hon. friend, Mr. Chatterjee, when he spoke yesterday asked, 'Is it treason if these people ask for the fundamental rights given under the Constitution to be applied to them, is it treason to ask that they should be governed in matters of judicial administration by the Supreme Court as the final arbiter of those matters?' Well, the question rhetorically put is so simple and the answer could not but be that it should not be so. The important point is that under the peculiar circumstances that prevail in Kashmir and looking to the question that one-third of the State is still under the heels of the aggressor, what would be lost if we were to wait for a few days. After all the Prime Minister has said that the State has completely acceded to India and there is no doubt about that.

[PANDIT THAKURDAS BHARGAVA *in the Chair*]

I would emphatically appeal to those gentlemen that whatever the grievances might be—and I for one think that there may be certain legitimate grievances—is it not equally desirable that they who want to fight for the rights of the people of Jammu should wait for a few days, instead of imperilling the whole situation. Therefore I think it is better if people look at this question not from the point of view of territory, not from the point of view of one community or the other, but from the point of view of the larger interests of Indian security. We do need Kashmir, not only that part of Kashmir which is actually with us but also the part which is under the heels of the aggressor. The whole of Kashmir has acceded to India but a part of it is still under the heels of the aggressor. This primary question has to be solved and till that question is solved, I think nothing would be lost if we were to wait. We can wait for the Supreme Court exercising its jurisdiction over these areas, for the other fundamental rights being made applicable to them. That will be my appeal to those people who are carrying on this agitation at the present moment. The raising of passions and party considerations are likely to involve us in matters whose consequences will be entirely different from what could be foreseen.

Looking to the progress of this Kashmir question again before the U.N.O., we know which parties and for what purposes are behind this move in protracting these matters. Everybody is aware of it. I would, therefore, appeal to those honourable Members who so vehemently speak of the grievances of the people of Jammu, that looking to the larger interests of the whole State, nothing would be lost if they were to wait for some time.

The next question to which I would refer is the question of the linguistic States. At the time when we framed the Constitution, I was one of those who tried hard that the States should be formed on a linguistic basis. It was I who moved a resolution to that effect in the old Constituent Assembly (Legislative). Even in the Constituent Assembly I tried my best because I believed that that was the right time—when we were framing the Constitution—to have the States formed on a linguistic basis. Unfortunately we could not succeed in the Constituent Assembly for various reasons. I am not going into those reasons now. A Commission was also appointed to go into this question. I would remind hon. Members that Sind was separated from Bombay and Orissa from Bihar at the time when the old Government of India Act, 1935 was brought into force. Therefore, I for one earnestly tried as far as possible to have the linguistic States at that time because I lieved that that was the right moment to do it. Not having been done then the question arises as to what is to be done now. If it is delayed. I am sure great complications will arise. There can be no doubt on that point.

So far as Maharashtra is concerned, I would like to make my position clear. I know that the Andhras have been agitating for a long time. It frightens me, if I may say so, to think of the present result. It is not for such a State that people should strive. As the President's Address says, this has to be done keeping in view the interests of the country and the wishes of the people. Unless we do it on a larger basis, mere platitudes will not help us. So far as Maharashtra is concerned, this is the most inopportune time for us to agitate, because we are in a peculiar position. We tried for *Samyuktha* Maharashtra because there was a move for having Maha Vidarba in it. That is why the word *Samyuktha* was used. Under the Constitution, there is no question of *Samyuktha* Maharashtra, because it does not provide for joining of States in this way. If at all we want anything, it is a Maharashtra which is one. I am not in favour of having, instead of *Samyuktha* Maharashtra a Maharashtra which is *Vibhaktha*. Looking to what has happened is happening in Andhra, I am convinced that if we agitate now, we shall get only *Vibhaktha* Maharashtra.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): May I ask the hon. Member what exactly, is the constitutional difficulty in having the Marathi portions of Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad and Bombay clubbed together?

Shri Pataskar: I thought the hon. Member knew it; we would not have used the word *Samyuktha* but for the fact that there was already a move for a separate province by the name of Vidarba. It was on that ground that we wanted that there should be an *Upaprant,* and some sort of agreement was reached between the Marathi speaking people of the two areas, and the word *Samyuktha* was used. Even at the present time, there is no difficulty in having a Maharashtra State, but the word *Samyuktha* need no longer be used. A Maharashtra State may come into being, if not today, say, five years hence or ten years hence. But we want a Maharashtra which consists of all the Marathi speaking areas. If we cannot have such a Maharashtra, it is better that we go without it for the time being. Maharashtrians are an economically backward people. Our present problem is more to face the famine than to ask for a linguistic State. If we insist, we will not get *Samyuktha* Maharashtra but a *Vibaktha* Maharashtra. Now, it is divided into three parts; agitation will result, in its being divided into four parts.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: What is the fourth one?

Shri Pataskar: It will be Bombay. That is what I apprehend. At the moment there is another danger. People who first started the hare and condemned those of us who asked for linguistic provinces, not for the disintegration of the country but in the interests of the country itself,—the very same people have now started culturism. Yesterday, I got a circular issued by the Secretary of the Maha Gujarat and it says that some economists, philologists and literary people have supported this move.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: What about criminologists?

Shri Pataskar: They have decided that they do not want a linguistic province, but a cultural province. I want to warn the House that this linguistic business is not so dangerous, and that this cultural business is going to be far more dangerous.

Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour): Let there be no culture.

Shri Pataskar: India's culture is one. Throughout the centuries, India has developed a culture of her own and we people who claim linguistic States never say that our cultures are different. We say that Indian culture is the same and that we want a separate State only for the sake of administrative convenience. I know who is the originator of this Maha Gujarat movement. We started our political career together. I do not want to go into personalities. It surprised and pained me to find that these people claim that there are four different cultures in Bombay. So far as Maharashtra is concerned, I am convinced that this is the most inopportune time for us to agitate. Nothing would be lost if we wait. Supposing in my lifetime it does not come, it will come ten years hence. But I have no right to agitate for something which will ruin for all the time to come the chances of the formation of a single Maharashtra. I know there are other difficulties also. I can understand the grievances of the Kannadigas. Let them agitate. I give my blessings to them. Let the Maha Gujarat people also start their career as a separate State. The remaining people will see what to do.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: And the balance is yours.

Shri Pataskar: I recently issued a statement saying that as one who first started this question at the time of the framing of the Constitution, I consider that the present is the most inopportune moment for Maharashtrians to agitate. The time will come when there will be a proper Maharashtra. If it is done at present, it will be suicidal. I am not against linguistic States, but Maharashtra must take its turn. We cannot have a Maharashtra without Karnatak areas being separated from us and already the Maha Gujarat people are agitating, though in a different name. That is why I have made my position clear.

Lastly, I would say that what the Maharashtrians should agitate for now is the relief of famine. Incidentally, that is a matter which should be taken into consideration by the Planning Commission. The conditions in the different tracts of Maharashtra have been already explained by my hon. friend Shri S. S. More. I have nothing to add to that. There will also be the reports of the Ramamurthi Commission. What is the remedy? How are we to enthuse the people? Recently, the Finance Minister made a statement that there must be enthusiasm among the people for implementing the Five Year Plan. Let him go to Ahmednagar district and see how we can create enthusiasm among the people there. There have been famines there for hundred years and more, and every three or four years some small temporary projects are started. I was surprised to find that there is no provision in the Plan for any new irrigation projects except for the completion of the two existing projects which were begun in 1949 and which have been almost completed. It may be that the interests of other areas have to be served, but if you drop new projects, how can you infuse enthusiasm? Several years back, investigation of some four or five schemes was begun. Not one of them is included in the Plan. Now that the famine is there, several crores of rupees are being spent for temporary relief, but that will not solve the problem. The British Government also constructed the Dhon-Manmad line as a famine measure, but ultimately even they had to come to the conclusion, in the first part of this century, that only irrigation projects of a permanent nature would be a real solution. But this work has been stopped due to provincial and inter provincial jealousies. This work must be taken up afresh. We can afford to go without the Koyna project, for which Rs. 33 crores have been provided. I make bold to say that we can go without power for some time, because even Bombay City does not need it. Because there was a power shortage in Bombay in 1948, provision has been made for this scheme. There is already a provision that a power station is to be erected in Trombay. So, there is no need for power, and Maharashtra is not an industrial area. It is a famine area, and we want irrigation facilities. So, we should concentrate on this and nothing else. I therefore urge that the Government should divert these Rs. 33 crores to irrigation projects, which if they are to be completed will require about Rs. 40 crores. Now that the Ramamurthi Commission is there, the attention of the whole country is drawn to the severe famine conditions in Maharashtra, and also in Karnatak and Gujarat. I do not want to give an impression for a moment that I want any linguistic considerations to be introduced into this. If there is famine in Kaira or Bijapur, if the same conditions prevail in the adjoining territory of Aurangabad, well all those must be given equal treatment: each according to its need must be the rule. First attention must be concentrated on the relief of those areas which for the last one hundred years have been visited by famine from year to year. It would be no solace to those people to find that a Bhakra or Nangal is constructed somewhere which would produce plentiful grain. So far as these areas are concerned, they have been devastated by famine.

I appeal to the Planning Commission to take this factor into consideration and see that major irrigation works are taken in hand in those areas.

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indian): I find the House rather depleted and in a somewhat somnolent mood. I hope that what I am going to say will have a somewhat stimulating effect.

I had given notice of two amendments to the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address. One drew attention to the need for an integrated all-India education policy; the other asked for measures to make our people more discipline minded. Both these are important subjects, but I have decided to speak on neither of them. My speech has been provoked —I am glad the hon. Member has just come in—by the remarks that fell from Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, Leader of the Communist Group. I see that the Prime Minister is not in the House. He is inclined to be too tolerant—perhaps too much of a democrat —and he will not attempt to answer all the points made by Prof. Mukerjee. Members of the Congress Party today are inclined to be not only restrained, but over-restrained, perhaps because of an undue sense of delicacy and they may not attempt to nail to the counter some of the propagandist distortions which Communists here and abroad indulge in. As an Independent I have none of these qualms and none of these restraints.

Prof. Mukerjee attacked—I may almost say abused—the President's Address for what he regarded as the lifeless platitudes about India's foreign policy. One thing which communists tend to foreget not only here, but throughout the world, either in their abuse of democracy or in their blandishments, is that in India we are committed—perhaps dedicated—to democracy. (*An hon. Member.* Democracy?) We are trying, in spite of my old friend, to achieve that goal. We are committed at any rate to the democratic goal. It is not only a form of Government: it consists in certain processes of thought. I know that these processes of thought are, perhaps, understandable, not only to my old friend here, but understandable to Communists, are perhaps anathema to their straight-jacketed minds. But when trying to abuse, or even seduce democratic countries, there is this cardinal fact which they cannot forget. We may forget, but we cannot efface the historical processes which have forged certain bonds, visible and invisible between India and the democracies. Let us try, if we want to, to forget them. Still we cannot forget this cardinal fact that India is a democracy: that India is not only committed to a system of Government, but to certain processes of thought which inevitably make her have more in common with the other democracies in the world, which cannot make her have anything in common with communist totalitarian countries.

No thinking person will attempt to cavil at the academic principles of Communism, All of us in this House at one time or another have studied Communist literature.

Shri K. K. Basu: It is unfortunate!

Shri Frank Anthony: It is perhaps more unfortunate that my hon. friend has not reached a sufficiently mature stage yet.

As I have said, it is because of the fascinating theory of Communism that so many theorists, so many pseudo-intellectuals have been attracted at one time or another to Communism. But what do we see—the widening gap between Communist precept and practice. That is what democrats throughout the world today see with misgivings. This widening gap, these objective manifestations of Communism, they run to a consistent pattern: they are not pretty manifestations. They are ugly and in some cases they are revolting manifestations.

My friend to my right abused the American imperialists. He abused their British satellites. No one here in this House will hold a brief for American imperialists or British satellites. I have no doubt whatever that there are many imperialists in America; that there are many American satellites in Britain. But what my hon. friend here does not seem to remember is this; that in India no one holds a brief for American imperialism. We condemn what we have come to regard as 'Macarthorism'. I personally have grave misgivings about what I consider to be represented by 'Taftism'. Personally , I have had considerable misgivings about the fact that some front-rank Republican leaders, American Republican Leaders, are notorious fire-eaters. We have these misgivings. We resent in India the undue emphasis which many Americans place on dollar diplomacy —the stream-lined facet of American commercialised life. We in this House bitterly resent the non-possumus, non-committal attitude of the British Government with regard to South Africa which is one of the members of the British Commonwealth. We have resented it; we have criticised it publicly. We see South Africa as a whole going up in racial flames. We see myopic criminals like Malan, we see them today trying by primitive and reactionary methods to put an end to these flames. But they will only fan these racial flames which ultimately will consume Malan and his fellow criminals. We see all these. We point our finger at them. But what do our friends do? Do they point a finger of criticism at Soviet Russia? Do they point a finger of criticism at the Chinese Government? Does my hon. friend Prof. Mukerjee ask us to believe that the motives of the men in the Kremlin—I will not call them his *Gurus*—are any better, any higher than the motives of some American imperialists in the Pentagon? At any rate there is this vast difference. In America you have this which you can never have under the ruthless dictatorship of Stalin—you have a system of democracy: there are not only thousands, but there are millions of Americans, who will not agree. . .

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): On a point of order, Sir. In discussing the President's Address, are we entitled to talk about American democracy and that kind of thing, quite apart from its impact on what is happening in India. One can refer to these things if they can be related to conditions in India. But quite apart from Indian conditions, are we entitled in a discussion of this sort to go into details of Soviet Communism. . . . . .

Shri Frank Anthony: May I make a submission? At least, I am indulging in democratic, decent language. My hon. friend ranted. He abused Americans—he called them imperialists. He abused Dulles personally. I am using restrained language. (*Interruption*). All I am asking my friends is that until they can subvert this country into having a dictatorial Government, let them at least develop the democratic virtue. . . .

Mr. Chairman: The point of order which the hon. Member has raised does not actually arise, because the hon. Member himself went into great details and tried to say that the President's Address did not do justice to India, in so far as it failed to undo the influence of United States in India, or did not take the line which the hon. Member perhaps wanted it to take.

What the other hon. Member is doing is to suggest why this Address is all right—why that line was not taken, why the Communist influence and doctrines could not find a place in the Address. In fact, the hon. Member who objects himself brought in these things, in his speech and the other hon. Member is simply replying to his arguments.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee *rose*—

Mr. Chairman: I have disposed of the hon. Member's point of order. Let the hon. Member proceed.

Shri Frank Anthony: If I may be allowed to continue in my rather temperate—democratic—way as I was saying, my hon. friend was abusing the Americans. We know that there are Imperialists in the Pentagon. But you have this functioning of democracy in America. There are millions of Americans who do not agree with Eisenhower's latest step. Every major action of administrative policy in a democracy like America or India is subjected to the fierce glare of public scrutiny. It is canvassed in the press. It is not only criticised in America but in the democratic press of the world. Let my friend point to a single instance where a flat of the Kremlin has been attempted to be criticised by a single Russian or by a single person in a satellite country of Russia. I say with all respect to my friend that even if he went with his colleagues, for health purposes, to Russia and attempted to criticise a flat of the Kremlin, even his head would be forfeit. (*Interruption*). I have no masters. That is one of the virtues of democracy. We do not worship at the feet of *Gurus* from outside. (*Interruption*). Sir, am I to go on with this kind of market place interruptions?

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. Let the hon. Member proceed.

Shri Frank Anthony: I am not suggesting for one moment that India can or will align herself with the democratic bloc. The Indian tradition, the Gandhian tradition will be against her aligning herself with the democratic bloc in any militarist policy. But let us take America's active allies. Do my Communist friends ask us to believe that the British people—let us forget Churchill—would allow themselves to be stampeded into a war by any American imperialist? I do not know whether they read any British newspapers. But every day we find bitter criticism, particularly among the whole Labour Party, about the present American policy. Let them point to a single instance where any Soviet satellite in Eastern Europe has attempted to criticise the Kremlin. What happened to Tito? He merely attempted to assert a certain measure of freedom for Yugoslavia. We know what happened to him.

I will come closer home. My friend has, I use the word advisedly ranted about India's subservience to the Anglo-Americans. I am not a member of the Congress party. I am not likely to become one. But at any rate the Prime Minister has pointed out over and over again, instance after instance, where India has not only not sided with America but has opposed the Anglo-American bloc. Can my friend point to a single instance where his Chinese colleagues have ever criticised the Russians, much less opposed them? I am sorry that the Prime Minister is not here. I say that the Prime Minister today is erring on the side of magnanimity, on the side of undue faith in China. India has given every conceivable hostage to her faith in the belief that Chinese polity would develop according to the genius of the Chinese people. But what have we got today?

Chou-En-Lai tried to emulate the gutter vituperation of Andrei Vyshinsky and referred to our Prime Minister as "the running dog of American imperialism". We chose to ignore it as a personal lapse and not as a declaration of Chinese foreign policy, we offered the other cheek in respect of Tibet. How long are we going to continue to offer our cheeks in misplaced faith to the Chinese? We are not going, as the Prime Minister has pointed out, to fight with any one or join any-one. Still at any rate let us realise this that today the Chinese Government is as firmly tied, a hog-tied, to the Russian juggernaut, as any eastern satellite of Russia. That is one point I want to underline. (*Interruption*). This is not the voice of America. I have heard the repetitive voices of the Kremlin here. I am speaking as a person who does not wish through a sense of undue or misplaced delicacy, to pull his punches. Sir, they indulge in abuses but will not hear the other side of the picture! I am amazed at this attitude. (*Interruption*). It is a virtue of democracy, they have yet to learn. They ask the Prime Minister—Prof. Mukerjee asked: why does not India join the free peoples of the world? I had to restrained myself: my first impulse was to laugh uproariously. (*Interruption*). Yes, it sounded like the invitation of the grave to the liberty of the grave! We all have read from different sources how many millions of Russians have been liquidated in the name of Communist freedom. I have met people who recently went to China, and they have told me, on good authority, that at least two million Chinese have been executed in the name of freedom. And China is only in the stage of consolidating its freedom. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Chairman: This is not fair. The hon. Member should not go on making a running commentary on another hon. Members speech. Hon Member should exercise restraint. He will have his own time if he chooses to speak.

Shri Frank Anthony: My friends can give it but not take it! (*Interruption*): Sir, I must object to this most offensive personal remark. Who is a turn-coat? He may be an agent of the Kremlin, he may be a saboteur. I object to this remark from a fledgling in this House.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. This would do.

Shri Frank Anthony: As I was saying, we find today China in the process of consolidation. This process of consolidation in Communist countries runs according to a consistent pattern—compromises with the petty-bourgeoise as they call it, with private enterprise. And after they consolidate their position on a pile of murdered democrats, liberals and so-called deviationists they turn against their own architects. Who does not remember the revolting tragedy of the so-called trials which took place recently at Prague? Democracies have their blemishes. But which of my friends has pointed a finger at this revolting spectacle of these trials in Prague? You, Sir, have read of them. We have seen in this appurtenance of Communism something revolting and nauseating to every decent thinking democrat.

Under this farcical facade of so-called trials what happened? We saw Communist sadists plumbing the depths of human misery and human degradation. Where else do we find such human degradation, such perversion of human nature—a wife asking for the death of her husband, a son demanding his father's execution? These staged trials of a Communist country run to a pattern.

What about the people themselves in the trial? They were at one time leaders and fighters, probably better than my friend Professor Mukerjee, people who installed Communism in that country. But these one-time fighters, by a special communist Technique of brain-washing have been degraded to a sub-human level, reduced to grovelling creatures asking for their own death. In the latest manifestation of the anti-Semite witch-hunt, which is now in full blast, we see a reproduction of the foul drama enacted by the Nazis. I was rather amused by the attempt to portray a picture of the Communist peoples as peace-loving and inoffensive. I recall a remark made by a senior army officer that China today has a first-line armed strength of ten million men. Stalin recently told his Russian agents that they must accentuate their attempts to spread the Communist movements throughout the world. As far as I can see it, the Communists are not forgetting but remembering increasingly the dictum of Lenin. "That the road of World Communism to Paris lies through Peking and Calcutta." Half the Communist road has been traversed. My Bengali friends are trying to pave the other half.

No one denies that Communism has very considerable economic achievements to its credit. But that is not a virtue of Communism. It has been exacted at a terrible price, at the price of the murder of millions of innocent people. Hitler did exactly the

[Shri Frank Anthony]

same thing. Every dictatorship, because it moves faster than a democracy, produces quick results. When Hitler came to power the German nation was racked with poverty and unemployment, and in a few years' time he gave the Germans full employment. (*An Hon. Member*: That is what the Communists are giving). But at what cost? At the cost of the degradation of the human mind and the spirit, and the ultimate destruction of Germany.

5 P.M.

One word more, Sir. We, in India, are a democracy. We may flounder. The methods of democracy are essentially tentative. The methods of trial and error are necessarily slow methods but ultimately the results that we achieve will be more permanent. It will take much more time for us to see the results but they will be permanent—it may take ten years, may be 15 or even 20 years. While we achieve the economic well-being of this country we will also achieve, what is perhaps of greater value, the opportunity for the ennobling of the human mind and the individual spirit. And I say this that India will not align herself with any bloc; we will always preserve the right as a democracy to have an independent foreign policy. Above all, we will never be shrouded behind any iron curtain nor tied to the wheels of any Communist juggernaut.

Sardar Hukam Singh (Kapurthala-Bhatinda): I will support my amendment. In his Address, the President did mention about this question of linguistic provinces. It has been said that "The question of linguistic provinces has often agitated the people in various parts of the country. While language and culture are important considerations in the formation of States, it has to be remembered that the States are administrative units in the Union of India and that other considerations also have to be kept in mind. Above all, the unity of India and national security have always to be given the first priority".

I agree with this. I have no grouse. In the pre-partition period, the Congress was giving out pledges that as soon as it came into power, there would be redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic and cultural basis. Nobody will be against it. Nobody would have any complaint if the considerations of unity and security of India are given the first priority. What we want is that some definite steps should be laid down, some criteria should be fixed and then every Province, every part of the country should be judged on those criteria. This is not what has been done. Differential treatment, discriminating treatment has been meted out to North India. It is clear that while passing the resolution, the Constituent Assembly meant that the whole of this question would be taken up by the Commission that was to be appointed but this question of Northern India was excluded from the consideration of the Commission. That was very unfortunate and we have complained that we were discriminated against in the appointment of that Commission. When that Commission made a report, the idea of the Sikhs and Jats was haunting them and it was on this ground that that Commission postponed the formation of the Provinces.

In para. 120 it says:

> "The formation of linguistic provinces is sure to give rise to a demand for separation of other linguistic groups elsewhere. Claims have already been made by Sikhs. Jats and others and these demands will, in course of time, be intensified."

I appeal to you, Sir, if that could be a reason because demands would also be made by Sikhs and Jats. Perhaps you also are included in those Jats because you were making an attempt in those days to have a separate province for the Jats, for the Hariyana Prant.

Mr. Chairman: A personal question has been introduced. I was never claiming a Province for Jats.

Sardar Hukam Singh: I will correct myself whenever there is a mistake. I only meant to say that when the Commission speaks of Jats, it means only that Hariyana Prant which you were advocating. You called it as Hariyana Prant and the Dhar Commission has called it as a Jat State.

Mr. Chairman: Are there no Jats in Punjabi speaking territory?

Sardar Hukam Singh: The Dhar Commission has distinguished between the two, the Sikhs and the Jats. The Sikhs have been taken on one side and I presume the Jats on the other. Therefore, I am justified in saying this. After that appointment, the Congress appointed a high power committee. The JVP Report was made. Then also we complained that we were discriminated against. On page 10 of the Report reference is made to us.

> "We are not concerned with what might be called petty adjustments of provincial boundaries such as demanded in parts of

> Northern India. Even apart from our view of this reference to us, we are firmly of opinion that no such question should be raised at the present moment. This does not necessarily mean that the demands for adjustment of provincial boundaries are unjustified or without merit. We believe that there is some force in them and that some adjustment may ultimately become necessary but we are convinced for the present that no such question should be raised."

And then in the last paragraph they discuss this claim of Northern India and say:

> "We are clearly of opinion that no question of rectification of boundaries in the provinces of Northern India should be raised at the present moment, whatever the merit of such a proposal might be."

Has this case of Northern India ever been considered at any moment? And on merits it had been decided that a province could not be formed when it could not be financially strong, when the national security would be endangered or when the unity would be weakened. Then surely we would not have pressed this demand and even now I say on the floor of the House that if somebody can convince us that he has apprehensions to suspect that the national security is going to be endangered or that Indian unity would be weakened, we will give it up because national security and Indian unity must get first priority and we are for that. We are not, at the expense of national security or Indian unity, pressing for a Province but the irony of fate is that we have been misunderstood. It is bad luck of a minority in democracy that even if its case be very good on merits, we have been misunderstood. Not only that. We have been maligned deliberately and we have been charged that we are working for a separate State. We have been accused that we are separatists, we are isolationists, we are developing Muslim League tendencies, we are harming the interests of this country. I assure you, Sir, this is all propaganda. This bogey is raised to slang us. There is the proverb "give the dog a bad name before hanging it". On the 5th July, when this resolution on linguistic provinces was being discussed, the Prime Minister was pleased to refer that in Northern India Sikhs wanted a separate State. I stood up and put a question to him "Who had asked for a State" and he welcomed that statement. He acknowledged that no responsible man has done it. After that statement, there should be no ground for maligning us, for accusing us that we are separatists, that we want something else besides what is asked for. It is very unfortunate. It is very unfortunate that our Home Minister who is always reputed to be, and who claims also, that he never utters a word unless he has thought over it—and I give him credit for that—referred to that during the Hyderabad session of the Congress when he had the opportunity of opening a library in Hyderabad. It was reported in the Papers—and I can only gather from that—that he referred to this question and said that the Sikhs wanted Khalistan or Sikhistan and that that is not desirable. I am very sorry if that report is true. Only six months after the declaration of the Prime Minister that no responsible person has asked for a separate State, I am sorry that the hon. Home Minister should be misled by some information or some advice, I do not know what it was, . . .

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): On a point of personal explanation, Sir, I never uttered the word Sikhistan. What I said was something in praise of my great friends the Sikhs. What I said was: I find that the Sikhs have spread themselves all over India and are the honoured citizens of this great country and I do not see any reason why they should confine themselves in a limited area. That is all that I said. This is almost a literal translation of what I said. There were hundreds of Sikhs. Every one was happy and they said, "you are a Punjabi, you are telling the truth."

Giani G. S. Musafir: You said, the isle of a State'. I was the President and I remember that.

Dr. Katju: That was what I said.

Sardar Hukam Singh: I do not want any denial or corroboration of what the hon. Home Minister said. I was only stating what was reported in the Press. If it was wrong, I am glad to know.

Everybody knows that in the Punjab there is the language controversy. Even you also referred to it in your speeches in the Constituent Assembly and said that you should not be forced to teach your children Punjabi and that there was a fear that you may be compelled to do it. You advocated then the formation of a province because you feared that Punjabi might be forced on you. The words that you said at that time are really a guide to me and I can quote them. You said:

> "For example, I would like to mention that Hariana, which is at present included in East Punjab,

[Sardar Hukam Singh]

has been trying for the last 40 years to get itself attached to areas whose language, customs and traditions are similar to its own and to get itself constituted into a separate province. But, it could not succeed. The reason was that when this was discussed with the UP leaders, they at once stated that this was a device to parcel out UP. They did not even consider whether it was a right thing to do or not. Provincialism and other ideas have become so ingrained in us that nobody is prepared to judge a thing on its own merits."

Exactly that is my complaint. Now, the position is the same. I might also say that another Hariana leader Ch. Ranbir Singh also advocated the same thing next day, on the 18th November: that they want to be separated from the Punjab, that those districts of Hariana had been included in the Punjab as a penalty for the doings of this area during the Mutiny, that they had nothing common with them and therefore they should be separated. Those persons who were advocating thus were called communal separatists: these were the words. I find myself in the same position when I advocate the case of a Punjabi-speaking province. I am not surprised because that is the state of everybody who advocates that. I may assure you that I have the same honest intentions and ideas as you had in your mind when you were advocating the idea of forming a separate State. There is nothing behind that.

As I said, there is the language controversy in the Punjab. Everybody knows that during the last census operations a greater part of the majority Community disowned their mother language. At last a formula was agreed to and that had the blessings of the High Command as well. I am grieved to know that even that was not satisfactory in certain respects, was not acceptable and even that has not been worked. The Municipal Committee of Jullundur, where during the census of 1931 and 1941 it was found that 98 per cent. of the population was Punjabi-speaking, passed a resolution that the medium of instruction should be Hindi. Let that be explained here at this moment that the Sikhs are not against Hindi. It is a confusion that is being created. The Sikhs respect Hindi; they love Hindi; they read it. They only want that their regional language should not be excluded, should not be extinguished and that it should have its own place. Hindi has a superior status. It is the *lingua franca* of the country. It shall be taught and read by everybody. The Sikhs will go, I should say, foremost in that. The Sikhs are not ashamed of it. They are proud to read it and study it. What they want is that Punjabi should have the status of a regional language, just as any other language has in its own territory when it is called the mother tongue. Against this, we are told......

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has already taken 16 minutes. He will have two minutes more. I am not going to stop him for two or three minutes.

Sardar Hukam Singh: I was referring to the fact that the Jullundur Municipality passed a resolution that the medium of instruction should be Hindi: it was an area where 98 per cent. of population was Punjabi-speaking. We are told, why should the Sikhs advocate this case of Punjabi when the Hindus, the majority community, are not in its favour. That is a policy which I am not able to follow. If really language is akin to a mother, because the elder brother, out of strained relations, out of any misunderstanding or, I should say, any wrath at the mistakes of the brother as well, is ready to stab his mother, does it lie in the mouth of anybody to say that the younger brother should not intervene and protect his mother because the assailant was also born of the same womb? Does it stand to reason that because the majority community is not prepared to protect it, therefore, the Sikhs should be asked not to protect it? Is this democracy? When the members of the majority community disown their mother tongue, it must be diagnosed what the malady is. It must be a diseased mind that disowns the mother. There must be some motive behind that. That must be diagnosed.

Then, we are told that language has nothing to do with religion, that it is regional and territorial. But, then, it is a language recognised in the Constitution. Therefore, it must have some region where it is spoken. I only want that this must have the status of any other language in that region where it is spoken and nothing beyond that. Motives should not be imputed to the Sikhs because they advocate it. It is an irony of fate that in the census of 1941 the Muslims gave their mother tongue as Urdu and the Hindus, Hindi, because there was a controversy about Hindi and Urdu. It was only the Sikhs who returned their mother tongue as Punjabi. That mentality has continued even in this census. A large section of the majority community gave their mother tongue as Hindi. Therefore, the Sikhs were isolated and left alone. Now, if they raise that cry and say that this is their mother tongue, they are dubbed as communal isolationists, they are enemies of the country. I am here to appeal to the hon. Members of the House that this is a very curious position. It should be looked at with sympathy. I could remind you of one instance; perhaps you would be remembering it very much. During the delimitation of constituencies two years ago, in this House, one constituency was not made to the satisfaction of one individual Member of this House. And he went round to the Members, and said that there would be a Sikh Raj, that Punjab would be taken away from Hindustan, that India was going to lose this portion of the Punjab, and he raised such a hue and cry and carried on propaganda against the Sikhs, that certain hon. Members, and one of them, of course, a Minister, enquired of me what that was. I said there was nothing at all. It was only a case of one constituency. It had been carved out by the Electoral Officer of Punjab, and confirmed by the Chief Election Commissioner of India, neither of whom was a Sikh. But, a bogey was raised in this House, and certain Members were saying that a Sikh Raj was coming, that Sikhs would have a majority in the Punjab, and then a deputation was led to the President against this, that if this was not set right, things were going to be very bad; and until that seat was set right in this House, I should say that hue and cry did not cease.

Now, I ask this House, if for the sake of even one constituency such a hue and cry can be raised, propaganda can be carried and people can be misled to believe that there is something wrong with the Sikhs, that they want to separate and take away the State, then where can this minority go? I am here to impress upon this House that this band of soldiers, the batch of volunteers who like to be servants of the country, are being demoralized. They are being estranged. They do not feel satisfied. Not that they want any privileges, not that they want any concessions, not that they want any preferential treatment, but they want to be treated as equal citizens, and that is not being done. If they want the same thing as another part is wanting, they are dubbed as communalists. If they want that their scheduled castes should be treated as any other scheduled castes, that there should be no discrimination between a Hindu and a Sikh, then they are dubbed as communalists, isolationists. But, when this difference is made in the President's order—it may be wrong or right, that is a different matter; that we can discuss on its merits—simply for saying that they should be treated alike, they are dubbed as communalists. If they say that there has been discrimination in the services, that they are not treated equally, that on account of their religion there has been discrimination—let an officer be appointed, and if he is satisfied that there is no discrimination, they will keep silent—they are called isolationists, enemies of the country. What they want is only this, that there shall not be discrimination on account of religion or caste. They should be treated equally, so far as the scheduled castes are concerned. If other States and areas are considered on a linguistic and cultural basis, then North India should also be considered. If considerations of defence and unity of India are brought in, they have absolutely no objection. Let some test be applied, and it should be equal.

When you said that the demand for Punjabi-speaking province was anti-national, I was surprised to read it, because you could make a similar demand two or three years ago and that could be national, and it is my ill-luck that when I bring it, it is considered in a different manner, though I have no wrong intentions, no ulterior motive. I am a citizen of India, an Indian first and last, and I want to shed my last drop of blood also if some contingency arises. Then, my appeal is that I should not be misunderstood, rather, I should not be misrepresented deliberately and consciously simply to deny the same thing that is being asked by others.

Shri R. K. Chaudhuri (Gauhati): I want, first of all, to deal with a subject which is uppermost in my mind, and that is with reference to the report of the Finance Commission. I am very much gratified to see that Assam which has been hitherto both under the British rule as well as under the Indian rule considered as the Cinderalla of India, has, after all, been able to get something to hide her nakedness. Assam has not been placed in a position where she might think of getting perfumed hair oil or lipstick, but still she has got something under the Finance Commission's report for which I wish to pay my tribute to the Finance Commission as well as to the Chairman of that Commission who happened to be one of our colleagues till very recently.

But then if you look at this report from a really impartial point of view, if you compare it with the position of other States in India, you will have to admit that we have really not gained much. The additional amount

[Shri R. K. Chaudhuri]

which we have got under this Finance Commission will be hardly sufficient to wipe away the deficit which we have in the Provincial budget. Last year, the deficit was to the tune of about Rs. 3 crores, and this additional amount which we are getting will hardly be enough to clear off that deficit.

Then, what is still more galling from our point of view is that we have not been credited with any share of the petrol excise duty, and no substitute has been given to us for that. The hon. Members of the House will be surprised to learn that in Assam where this petrol is produced, the mother earth of which is being embowelled every year, there we have to pay for a gallon of petrol at the rate of Rs. 3/2 per gallon, whereas here in Delhi which does not produce a drop of petrol, you get petrol at the rate of Rs. 2/11 or so. Look at the disparity in the price. Look at the partiality of the thing.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: So near and and so far!

Shri R. K. Chaudhuri: I think that injustice against which we had complained for nearly 25 years has not yet received any marked hearing from any quarter. And when I find that the Finance Commission is absolutely silent on this point, I am inclined to exclaim—when I remember my hon. friend Shri K. C. Neogy, I am inclined to think—"You too Brutus!" He also has neglected Assam in this important respect. I believe it is never too late to mend, and I think the Government can still ask the Finance Commission to consider this specific point along with other specific points that may arise in the other parts of the country, and make their recommendations in this behalf. That, as I said, will enable the Cinderalla to put on a brighter garb in the near future.

Now some reference has been made by the President in his Address to tea. It will not be surprising for the House to know that tea forms the main backbone of the economy in our State. With the closure of tea gardens, the entire economic structure of Assam will be shaken. I am afraid the hon. Members of this House who come from northern India particularly, are absolutely indifferent to the interests of tea. They labour under a prejudice against consumption of tea, a prejudice which should have been overcome by this time. But, if they will be so pleased to look at the whole question from this point of view, namely that there are 13 lakhs of labouring population in the tea estates of Assam—in these 13 lakhs not one native of Assam is included. Not one Assamese you will find amongst these 13 lakhs of labourers in the tea plantations. They are mainly from the Santal Parganas, Bihar, Orissa and Madras, though there may be a spinkling from the other States of India. So, when I respectfully request my hon. friends in this House who do not either belong to Assam or to Bengal, to have a more sympathetic view of the tea estates, I do so with this clear idea that in helping Assam and the tea industry, they will be helping themselves. They will help their teeming millions of labourers. As the hon. Minister of Labour stated the other day, about 60 tea gardens have been closed, and about 46,000 labourers have been rendered homeless and without any income. Is it possible for the Government of Assam to provide for this teeming population of labourers in Assam? Is there any occupation in Assam in which they can be provided for or engaged, in order to enable them to get their living.

My hon friends here waxed eloquent on the condition of the poor labourers. But do they for a moment think of these labourers in Assam, whose fate is intimately bound up with the fate of the tea gardens? The proprietors of the tea gardens, who are intelligent people, and who have other businesses, will find their living somehow or other, but what is to be done about these labourers? Immediately we are concerned only with about 46,000 labourers, but their number is swelling day by day, and there is no other enterprise in Assam, which can provide employment for them. I am ashamed to admit that my hon. friends here will be surprised to learn that in the State of Assam, there is not a single textile mill. In the State of Assam, there is not a single jute mill. There is not a single factory which is worth mentioning at all. How are you then going to provide for these labourers? Is it not a matter for your concern? Is it not a matter for the concern of this House? (*Interruption*). My hon. friend comes from Madras, and he thinks more of his coffee than of tea. But he does not think at the same time of the fate of the labourers who have been affected. Whether it is coffee or tea, the fate of the labourers is mixed with that position. Therefore I would request the hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry, the hon. Minister of Labour and also the hon. Minister of Finance to take this aspect of the matter into serious consideration, namely that the sum of Rs. 25 lakhs which has been placed at the disposal of the Government of Assam will not in the least go towards the solution of the problem.

We are facing now a great difficulty, a great risk of the entire labour population being thrown into the embrace of the Communists. If they become Communists, lock, stock and barrel, then the praise will not be due to the communists, but the disgrace will be due to us. I do not belittle the steps which the Government have taken. I do not belittle the earnestness with which the Government has proceeded to solve this problem. But I bemoan the lot of the State, and I bemoan the condition of these labourers, which is miserably staring in our eyes.

Next I turn to the reference which was made to the Five Year Plan. The authors of the Plan, I think, will express great regret, when I point out to them that in the whole Plan, the only provision that has been made for Assam is for a hydro-electric plant. That is the only thing which has been mentioned. There is nothing else that has been given for the State of Assam. We do not want multitude of tractors. We do not want a Damodar Valley Corporation, or a Hirakud project or anything like that. Our wants are very simple. We want that an embankment should be made, that what is known as a 'Mathari' should be built. That does not cost much. And yet there is no provision for that in the whole Plan. We are being flooded every year. The entire crop is damaged sometimes in a particular year, and we become helpless, and we have to look at the heaven, and look to the mercy of the rest of India, to save us from famine and starvation. Hon. Members will be surprised to learn that during the war, Assam had plenty of foodgrains. Assam not only supplied foodgrains for the vast army which was located there during the war, but even up till 1950, had been supplying rise to Bengal and some rice also to Madras. But what is the position now? The present position is one of deficit. Although it may not be officially admitted, still the present position is one of deficit. Yet, if a little effort is made, if some consideration is shown, if a comparatively small sum of money is allotted to Assam, not the crores and hundreds of crores of rupees which are allotted to the different provinces of India, Assam would be able, in a few years, to feed at least the neighbouring provinces with rice. But alas! In spite of the sympathy of which we hear and in spite of the pains that have been taken to prepare this Plan, still, in this Plan Assam has been given no place for development. That is really a matter of great regret. I do not say this in any sense of carping criticism, and I do not wish to say anything which would give a handle to my friends in the Opposition, to cudgel my Government. But I say that it is not on account of any indifference, or neglect or want of sympathy that the State has been treated in this way, but because of ignorance of some people, and of the ignorance of some people who ought to have known better.

As I have stated once before when I read out an extract from a book 'The Citizen of India',—it was a textbook in the old entrance examination days, and I wonder whether there is anybody who is as old as myself, who would have read that textbook—if one finger gets rotten, then the whole body will suffer. This particular passage ought to be brought home to our Government now. If Assam is neglected, if Assam becomes a rotten finger, then the entire body of India will be affected at some time or other. And in this matter of the neglect of Assam, I think the Opposition as well as Government are in unanimity.

An Hon. Member: How will that be possible?

Shri R. K. Chaudhuri: Because not a word of sympathy I have heard from these Benches. I say in this matter, they are practically unanimous. (*Interruption*). Nine months ago—and nine months is a critical period so far as a human being is concerned—the President gave us an Address, and my hon. friends in the Opposition also addressed this House. But I am really struck by the difference in the tone of the speeches made by the Opposition this time. I really admire the spirit of my hon. friend, Mr. Nambiar, and the constructive attitude he adopted. He has no longer the pitch of the firebrand which he used to be in the last session. I feel, and everybody in this House ought to feel, as they see the achievements of the Government—even though they do not express it openly, they feel in the heart of hearts—that really our Government has made good progress. I still hope—I may be considered optimistic—but I hope that after another 9 months when they will be discussing the President's Address, wisdom will dawn upon them (*Interruption*) and they will find a lot of things in which they can with a clear conscience express in this House.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): We join the Congress!

Shri R. K. Chaudhuri: I must admit that I as well as many Members of my party have felt largely depressed on account of the recitals on Jammu and Kashmir in this House, which were made by two redoubtable friends,

[Shri R. K. Chaudhuri]

Mr. Chatterjee and Dr. Mukerjee. Those of us who belong to the Congress and those among us who belong to the Opposition have always set our face against repression of any kind. We do not want repression in our country. The Nehru Government does not want to rule India by anything like repression. I had before me a book called "Satyagraha without Truth". When I heard the speech yesterday of Mr. Chatterjee, I read that book again, and I found that if one/tenth of what has been stated in that pamphlet was true, there was really reason for taking strong measures. I was listening attentively to the speeches which were made on the subject and I was rather relieved to find that the justification for the recitals in the pamphlet could not be very much denied. I did not hear as I anxiously listened to the speeches any serious contradiction of the statements, of the racitals of facts, which were made in this pamphlet. Of course one must concede that this is a propaganda book, but still when propaganda is not met by counter-propaganda, the propaganda which is made in the pamphlet gains the heart of everybody.

So I say whatever that may be, I give credit to the suggestion, the constructive suggestion, which my friend, Mr. Chatterjee, made yesterday in order to solve this problem. That constructive suggestion, which I heartily accept, is that our Prime Minister should call both the parties together and try to bring about a solution. Kashmir is one of the brightest jewels of India, territorially as well as religiously. It was at one time said to be the heaven on earth—*Bhooswarg*. We do not want to lose Kashmir. We do not want to be separated from Kashmir under any circumstances. If my hon. friend, the Prime Minister, the friend of India, will only accept the suggestion which was made and if he will invite both the parties, I am sure peace will be restored in Jammu and Kashmir and the whole question will be satisfactorily solved.

That has been done before and that may be done again. This is my faith, that if this cannot be done by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, there is nobody in the world who will be able to do it. (*Interruption*). Yes, nobody will be able to do it. You know more of Pandit Nehru than I do. You must admit this, that if he cannot do this, then nobody else will be able to do it.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: He wants nine bells, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: Maulana Masoodi. Sahib.

مولانا مسودی (جموں اور کشمیر) : جناب چیرمین صاحب۔ آج چوتھا دن ہے اس بحث کا جو راشٹر پتی جی کے اس ایڈریس پر شکریہ ادا کرنے کے لئے شروع کی گئی ہے - جو موصوف نے پارلیامنٹ کے مشترکہ اجلاس میں ارشاد کیا تھا - اس سلسلہ میں بہت سی چیزیں اب تک بڑی تفصیل کے ساتھ کہی گئیں - میں انہیں ٹچ نہیں کرونگا - میں کشمیر کے مسئلہ کے چہرے سے - جہاں سے آنے کا مجھے شرف حاصل ہے - تھوڑا سا نقاب ہٹانا چاہتا ہوں - کیونکہ کل اور آج خصوصیت کے ساتھ دو معزز ممبروں نے گرم اور سرد ہوائیں یہاں چلائیں- انکی وجہ سے بہت سے ممبران پارلیامنٹ کے دلوں میں ایسے شکوک اور شبہات پیدا ہونے کا خدشہ ہے جو حقیقت پر مبنی نہ ہونگے - لیکن قبل اس کے کہ میں جموں کے ایجیٹیشن اور کشمیر کے سوال پر ان بھائیوں کی پیش کی ہوئی باتوں کا جواب دوں میں جناب والا چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ کی وساطت سے ہاؤس کو کشمیر کے سوال کی کچھ بیک گراؤنڈ کی طرف متوجہ کروں - کشمیر کے سوال کی ایک بیک گراؤنڈ انٹر نیشنل ہے - نہ صرف اس لحاظ سے کہ یہ سوال پچھلے پانچ سال سے دنیا کی سب سے بڑی بین الاقوامی کاؤنسل کے سامنے ہے

بلکہ اس لحاظ سے بھی کہ گذشتہ ایک دو مہینے سے کشمیر کا سوال ایک نئی اہمیت اختیار کر گیا ہے - اس وقت دنیا کے وہ دو دھڑے جو تیسری جنگ کی تیاری اپنی اپنی جگہہ کر رہے ہیں اور زیادہ سے زیادہ ملکوں کو اپنے اپنے دھڑے میں شامل کرنے کی کوشش کر رہے ہیں ان کی نظروں میں کشمیر کی اہمیت بھی ایک غیر معمولی اہمیت ہے - پچھلے دو مہینوں نے دنیا کی ڈکشنری اور انسائیکلوپیڈیا کو ایک نیا لفظ دیا ہے - "میڈو" - یعنی مڈل ایسٹ ڈیفنس آرگنائزیشن جو بن رہا ہے اور جس میں شمولیت کے لئے مصر اور ایران کو خصوصیت کے ساتھ ہموار کیا جا رہا ہے - اور جو رعایتیں آج سے ایک سال پہلے ان کے لئے اس قابل بھی نہیں تھیں کہ وہ ان کی طرف آنکھ اٹھا کر دیکھتے - آج ریڈیلی ان کو پیش کی جا رہی ہیں - سوڈان اور سویز کا وہ مسئلہ جس پر کچھ مدت پہلے مصریوں کا خون بہایا گیا تھا اور جبراً انگلستانی فوجیں سویز کے کناروں پر اس طریقے سے جاکر قابض ہو گئی تھیں جس طرح ایک نئے فتح کئے ہوئے ملک پر کوئی جاکر قابض ہو جاتا ہے - آج وہی مسئلہ چٹکی بجانے میں حل کیا جا رہا ہے - اور جنرل نجیب کی منہ مانگی شرطیں منظور کی جاتی ہیں - ڈاکٹر مصدق سے بھی کچھ کم چاپلوسی کے ساتھ پیش نہیں آیا جا رہا - لیکن اس سلسلہ میں "میڈو" کے تالاب میں جو سب سے زیادہ موٹی مچھلی گھیر لانے کی کوشش ہو رہی ہے وہ پاکستان ہے - لیکن کیا یہ حقیقت آپ کی نظر سے چھپ سکتی ہے کہ "پاکستان پلس کشمیر" اور "پاکستان مائنس کشمیر" میڈو میں ایک ہی قیمت رکھتا ہے - اگر کشمیر پاکستان کے ساتھ میں نہ ہو تو کیا اس کی شمولیت میڈو میں اتنی ہی ضروری اور اتنی ہی قیمتی ہوگی جتنی اس صورت میں ہو سکتی ہے جب کہ کشمیر پاکستان کے ساتھ میں ہو - یہ ایک بنیادی سوال ہے جو کشمیر کے مسئلہ میں انٹرنیشنل بیکگراؤنڈ ہے - اس مسئلہ پر غور کرتے ہوئے میں درخواست کرونگا کہ اس ہاؤس کا ہر ایک ممبر اس کو اپنے سامنے رکھے -

اس کے ساتھ ہی اس بات کو بھی نہیں بھولنا چاہئے کہ کشمیر کا جو سوال یو - این - او - میں ہے اس کا فیصلہ کرنے میں اور اس پر رائے دینے میں بہت بڑا اختیار ان لوگوں کو حاصل ہے جو میڈو کے مسئلہ میں اور میڈو میں پاکستان کی شمولیت میں بہت زیادہ دلچسپی رکھتے ہیں - اور ان کی نگاہ میں کشمیر ایک سٹریٹجک مقام ہے - عام لوگ سمجھتے ہیں کہ کشمیر کی اہمیت اس کے باغات کی ہے - اس کی

جھیلوں کی ہے - دریاؤں کی ہے - ندی نالوں کی ہے - خوش گوار ہواؤں کی ہے - اونچے اونچے پہاڑوں کی ہے - لیکن میڈو والوں کی نگاہوں میں اس کی وہ اہمیت نہیں - ان کی نگاہوں میں کشمیر کی اور کوئی اہمیت ہے - ان کی نگاہوں میں کشمیر کی اہمیت اس نقطہ کی اہمیت ہے جو ایشیا میں چائینا - افغانستان - پاکستان اور ہندوستان اور تبت کے ملاپ کا نقطہ ہے - اس اہمیت کو اپنی آنکھوں سے اوجھل نہ ہونے دیجئے - اور پھر اس حقیقت کو بھی اپنی آنکھوں سے اوجھل نہ ہونے دیجئے کہ آنے والی جنگ میں کشمیر تمام ایشیا میں ایک غیر معمولی اہمیت رکھتا ہے - یہ وہ مقام ہے کہ دو پارٹیوں میں سے جس کے قبضہ میں ہو وہ وہاں مضبوط سے مضبوط اپنا اڈا اور اسٹرانگ ہولڈ بنا سکتی ہے اور اس پر باہر سے کوئی حملہ کرنا آسان کام نہیں رہ جاتا- چار پہاڑیوں پر چار توپیں اس ساری وادی کی حفاظت کر سکتی ہیں - اور وہاں سے اڑے ہوئے جہاز ایشیا کے ہر کسی حصہ پر پورا کنٹرول کر سکتے ہیں - ذرا اس کو بھی دیکھ لیجئے- ان تمام چیزوں کو سمجھیئے تاکہ آپ یہ سمجھ سکیں کہ آج ہماری لڑائی کشمیر کے بارے میں صرف ایک پاکستان کے ساتھ نہیں بلکہ ان لوگوں کے ساتھ بھی ہے جو یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ ان کے ساتھ یا کسی بھی دوسرے کے ساتھ ملانے کیلئے پاکستان ایک آسان ساتھی ہے - ایک آسان شکار ہے جس کو آسانی کے ساتھ قابو میں لایا جا سکتا ہے - لیکن اس کے برخلاف ہندوستان ایک فولاد کا مشکل چنا ہے جس کو کوئی چبا نہیں سکتا - کشمیر کے سوال کی یہ انٹرنیشنل بیکگراؤنڈ ہے جس کو آپ اپنے سامنے رکھ لیجئے -

جناب والا - اس سوال کی ایک دوسری بیکگراؤنڈ ہے اور وہ ہے انڈو پاکستان بیکگراؤنڈ - ہند اور پاکستان کے درمیان کشمیر حقیقت کے لحاظ سے تو نہیں البتہ اس وقت میں ہوئی کچھ باتوں کی وجہ سے اور اس سے پہلے کئے ہوئے کمٹمینٹس کی وجہ سے ایک ایسی سٹیٹ ہے جس پر کہ ابھی تک دونوں کے کلیم ایک جیسے تصور کئے جاتے ہیں - ہم کشمیری ان کلیمس کو ایک جیسا تصور نہیں کرتے - ہم تو صرف ہندوستان کے کلیم کو درست سمجھتے ہیں اور مانتے ہیں کہ پاکستان کا کلیم کسی صورت میں بھی درست نہیں تھا اور نہ ہے اور نہ ہم اس کو تسلیم کرنے کے لئے تیار ہیں - لیکن اس تلخ حقیقت کے ساتھ ہمیں واسطہ پڑا ہے کہ کشمیر کے سوال کا آخری فیصلہ کرنے کے بارے میں

کہ کشمیر ہندوستان کا ہے - کشمیر ہندوستان ہے اور اس کی زمین کا ایک ایک چپہ ہندوستان ہے - پھر بھی اس کے ایک حصہ پر ایگریسر کے قبضہ کو برداشت کئے ہوئے ہیں - نہ جانے کس وقت کے انتظار میں یہ گھڑیاں گن رہے ہیں کہ ایک وقت آئے گا جب ہندوستان کی سر زمین کا یہ حصہ اس دھبہ سے پاک ہو جائے گا جو آج اگریسر کے قبضہ میں ہونے کی وجہ سے اس پر لگا ہوا ہے - اس حقیقت کو بھی نہ بھولئے کہ پچھلے چار سال سے جب سے گولی بند کی گئی ہے ادھر کی حکومتیں اور اُدھر کی حکومتیں بیسیوں معاہدے اور بیسیوں اعلان آپس میں کر چکی ہیں کہ پھر دوبارہ گولی چلانا شروع نہیں کی جائے گی اور کوئی فیصلہ کرنے کے لئے لوگوں سے رائے لی جائے گی - اس حقیقت کو آپ لازمی طور پر اپنے سامنے رکھیں - یہ ہیں - جناب - 'انٹرنیشنل بیک گراؤنڈ اور اس مسئلہ کی انڈو پاکستان بیک گراؤنڈ -

اس سوال کی ایک تیسری بیک گراؤنڈ بھی ہے اور وہ ہے "انڈو کشمیر بیک گراؤنڈ" - گو یہ لفظ استعمال کرتے ہوئے مجھے دکھ ہوتا ہے - کیونکہ ہندوستان کا کشمیر ایک حصہ ہے - اِس قسم کے الفاظ دو مختلف ملکوں کے درمیان ہی انٹرنیشنل سفیئر میں ہماری آواز آپ ہی کے ذریعہ جا سکتی ہے - ہم الگ تھلگ ہو کر دوئی آواز اٹھا نہیں سکتے - خیر کچھ بھی ہو - کشمیر ایک سٹیٹ ہے جس پر ایک طرف پاکستان کا کلیم ہے اور دوسری طرف ہندوستان کا - اور یہ بھی ایک حقیقت ہے کہ کچھ لوگوں کی سستی سے - ان کی غفلت سے - ان کی نا سمجھی سے - میں اگر نرم سے نرم لفظ استعمال کروں تو میں بھی کہونگا کہ ان کی نادانی سے مناسب وقت پر جموں اور کشمیر کی ریاست کا ہندوستان کے ساتھ ایکسیشن اور الحاق نہیں کیا گیا - اور پاکستان کو یہ موقع دیا کہ وہ کشمیر کو کھینچنے کے لئے اپنے حق میں جب لوگوں کی رائے سے مایوس ہو جائے تو کشمیر پر ایک وحشیانہ حملہ کر دے - اس لئے ایکسیشن نہایت ہی نازک حالت میں - مجبوری کی حالت میں کیا - وہ عمل میں آیا - اور اس کے بعد ہندوستان کی فوجوں نے حملہ آوروں کا مقابلہ کیا - لیکن آدھا مقابلہ ہوا جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ اس ریاست کا رقبہ کے لحاظ سے - زمین کے لحاظ سے تقریباً ایک تہائی حصہ اور آبادی کے لحاظ سے کچھ ایک چوتھائی سے کم حصہ ابھی تک حملہ آور کے قبضہ میں ہے - ابھی تک وہ حصہ باقی ریاست سے کٹا ہوا ہے اور ہم سے جدا ہے - اور ہم یہ دعوی کرتے ہوئے بھی

[مولانا مسعودی]

استعمال ہونے چاہیئں - لیکن مفہوم کو ادا کرنے کے لئے - بات کو بیان کرنے کے لئے مجھ جیسے انپڑھ آدمی کے پاس زیادہ موزوں الفاظ نہیں ہیں - اس لئے الفاظ کی معافی چاہتے ہوئے میں درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ آپ مجھکو "انڈو کشمیر بیکگراؤنڈ" کی اصطلاح استعمال کر لینے دیں - انڈو کشمیر بیکگراؤنڈ کیا ہے - وہ ہے کشمیر اور مرکز کا آپنی سمبندھ - کشمیر اور مرکز کا سمبندھ اس وقت تک جب تک کہ آخری فیصلہ اس ریاست کا نہیں ہو جاتا تین باتوں پر کھڑا ہے -

6 P. M.

پہلی بات ۲۶ اکتوبر سنہ ۱۹۴۷ع کا وہ انسٹرومنٹ آف ایکسیشن تھا جس کی رو سے ڈیفنس فارن افیرس اور کمونیکیشن تین باتیں مرکز کو سپرد کی گئی ہیں اور جس میں ایک سطر یہ بھی اضافہ کی گئی ہے کہ ایکسیشن آخری تصدیق وہاں کے رہنے والے عوام سے اس وقت حاصل کی جائیگی جب حالات درست ہو جائیں گے-

دوسرا سمبندھ جو جموں و کشمیر اور مرکز کے درمیان ہے اس کی بنیاد اس ملک ہندوستان کے آئین کی ایک دفعہ پر ہے جسکا نمبر ۳۷ ہے - جس کے مطابق ہندوستان کی کانسٹیٹیوینٹ اسمبلی نے مدتوں غور کرنے کے بعد یہ فیصلہ کیا ہے کہ ہندوستان کا ودھان ان تین باتوں کے علاوہ جو انسٹرومنٹ آف ایکسیشن کے ذریعہ مرکز کے سپرد کی گئی ہیں جموں و کشمیر پر لاگو نہیں ہوگا - ان تین باتوں کے علاوہ جو بات بھی لاگو کرنی ہوگی وہ جموں اور کشمیر کی کانسٹی ٹیوینٹ اسمبلی کے فیصلہ کے ذریعہ ہی لاگو ہوگی - کسی اور ذریعہ سے وہ لاگو نہیں ہو سکتی - اور اس کے ساتھ ہی اس دھارا کی رو سے نہ صرف جموں اور کشمیر کو ایک کانسٹی ٹیوینٹ اسمبلی بنانے کا اختیار دیا گیا ہے بلکہ یہ بھی تسلیم کیا گیا ہے کہ جموں اور کشمیر پر جو ودھان لاگو ہوگا وہ جموں اور کشمیر کی وہ کانسٹی ٹیوینٹ اسمبلی بنائے گی - یہ دوسری بنیاد ہے مرکز اور اسٹیٹ کے درمیان تعلق کی -

تیسری بنیاد جو ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ آج سے پانچ چھ مہینے پہلے جولائی سنہ ۱۹۵۲ع میں ایک اریلنجمینٹ ہوا جس کو بعض لوگ ایگریمنٹ بھی کہتے ہیں - یہ وہ اریلنجمنٹ تھا جو جموں اور کشمیر و مرکز کے درمیان قرار پایا تھا اور جس پر اس معزز ہاؤس کے سامنے بحث کی گئی اور بحث کرنے کے بعد اس کو اپروو (منظور) کیا گیا اور پھر وہ اریلنجمنٹس جموں اور کشمیر کانسٹیٹیوینٹ اسمبلی کے سامنے پیش کئے گئے اور لفظ بلفظ جو کچھ یہاں اپروو ہوا تھا اس کو وہاں

بھی ایپرود کر دیا گیا - جناب والا یہ تعلقات ہیں جو جموں اور کشمیر کی اسٹیٹ اور ہندوستان کے مرکز کے درمیان کھڑے ہیں - آج وہاں کی گورنمنٹ - وہاں کی کانسٹی ٹیوینٹ اسمبلی اور وہاں کے تمام ارادے جس بنیاد پر کام کر رہے ہیں - جس کے مطابق عمل کر رہے ہیں وہ صرف یہی ان تین باتوں پر قائم ایک بنیاد ہے -

جمو اور کشمیر کی انٹرنیشنل اسفیر میں بیکگراؤنڈ - جموں اور کشمیر کی بیکگراؤنڈ انڈو پاکستان اسفیر میں اور جموں اور کشمیر کی بیکگراؤنڈ انڈو کشمیر اسفیر میں - ان تمام چیزوں کو آج اپنے سامنے رکھ لیجئے اور اس کے بعد آپ یہ سوچئے کہ جس ایجیٹیشن کے بارے میں اتنا کچھ ہنگامہ کیا جا رہا ہے - اس قدر جس کی تعریفوں کے پل باندھے جا رہے ہیں - جس کی تعریف کرتے ہوئے آج اور کل اس ہاؤس کے دو بہت بزرگ تجربہ کار اور قابل ممبروں نے اتنا کچھ کہا کہ میرا خیال ہے کہ اس سے زیادہ کہنا ان کے لئے نا ممکن ہے اس ایجیٹیشن کی حمائت کو ان تعلقات میں کس جگہ کھپایا جا سکتا ہے - کہاں بیٹھایا جا سکتا ہے کیونکہ ہمارے دونوں بھائیوں نے کل اور آج یہ مطالبہ کیا ہے کہ جو لوگ ایجیٹیشن کر رہے ہیں ان کی بات کو- ان کے مطالبہ کو کہیں نہ کہیں ایڈجسٹ کرنا چاہئے - اور کسی نہ کسی طریقہ سے ان کی تسلی کرنی چاہئے - لیکن جب تک آپ یہ نہ سوچیں کہ ان کا وہ مطالبہ ہے کیا تب تک آپ کوئی جواب نہیں دے سکتے - اس لئے میں بتاتا ہوں کہ ان کا مطالبہ کیا ہے - ان کی طرف سے شایع کیا ہوا لیٹریچر - ان کی طرف سے کئے ہوئے اعلان ان کی طرف سے کی ہوئی تقریریں آپ کے سامنے ہیں - وہ تمام باتیں جو آج لمبی فہرستوں کی شکل میں یہاں بیان کی گئی ہیں - یا بیان کی جا رہی ہیں بطور مطالبہ ان کو پریشد والوں نے کہیں تیچ نہیں کیا - میں یہ مانتا ہوں کہ ان کا مطالبہ ان کا اپنا مطالبہ نہیں اور وہ مطالبہ پچھلے زمانے میں نہیں ہوا کرتا تھا - نیا مطالبہ تب شروع ہوا جب ہمارے دوست ڈاکٹر شیاماپرشاد مکرجی نے آج سے چھ مہینے پہلے جن سنگھ کی ورکنگ کمیٹی سے ایک ریزولوشن پاس کرایا جس کا لفظی مفہوم یہ تھا کہ "ہندوستان کا ودھان جیسا ہے ویسے کا ویسا لفظ بلفظ جموں اور کشمیر پر بھی لاگو کر دیا جائے - نہیں تو جموں اور لداخ کو اختیار دیا جائے کہ وہ الگ ہوکر جو راستہ اپنے لئے پسند کریں وہ راستہ اپنا لیں" - مجھے آج یہ سن کر خوشی ہوئی کہ ڈاکٹر صاحب اپنے اس مطالبہ سے باز آ گئے ہیں - انہوں نے فرمایا کہ "میں نے اسے واپس

[مولانا مسعودی]

لے لیا ہے " اگر صبح کا بھولا شام کو گھر آجائے تو کہتے ہیں کہ اسے بھولا نہیں کہنا چاہئے - لیکن صبح سے شام تک بھولا رہنے کی وجہ سے جو دن اس کا ضائع ہو گیا اس کا خمیازہ کہیں نہ کہیں تو انسان کو بھگتنا ہی پڑتا ہے بھولا ہوا خود واپس آ جاتا ہے مگر گذرا ہوا دن تو واپس نہیں آتا - ڈاکٹر صاحب تو واپس آئے لیکن اس ایک غلط قدم سے جس کو وہ خود بھی غلط سمجھتے ہیں - ایک ایسی خرابی ہوگئی جس کے نتیجہ میں وہاں ان کی ہدایت پر چلنے والے میرے پریشدی دوست بہت زیادہ گمراہ ہوگئے - انہوں نے سب کچھ چھوڑ چھاڑ کر صرف ایک اس مطالبہ کو سامنے رکھا ہے کہ " یا تو سارا ودھان ریاست پر لاگو کرو یا جموں کو کشمیر سے کاٹ کر الگ کر دو " - ان کے پچھلے تین مہینے کے تمام نعرے - تمام کوششیں - ایک ودھان - ایک پردھان - ایک نشان - اور وہ تمام چیزیں کہ یہ نہیں چلیگا یا وہ نہیں چلیگا اسی ایک بات پر مبنی تھیں کہ یا تو سارا ودھان وہاں لاگو کر دیا جائے یا جموں کو کشمیر سے کاٹ دیا جائے - آج ڈاکٹر صاحب فرماتے ہیں کہ میں تو اس سے باز آگیا ہوں - مگر ڈاکٹر صاحب آپ تو باز آ گئے - کیونکہ آپ کنارے پر کھڑے تھے - آپ ساحل پر تھے لیکن جن کو ایک کشتی پر بٹھا کر آپ نے آگے کو دھکیل دیا ہے - لہروں کے سپرد کر دیا ہے ان کو بھی تو واپس لانے کی کوشش کیجئے - محض آپ کے واپس آجانے سے معاملہ ختم نہیں ہوتا - ان کو واپس لایئے تاکہ وہ بھی کنارے پر آکر معاملے کو ٹھنڈے دل سے سوچیں اور جو غلطیاں اس وقت تک کر چکے ہیں - جو کچھ ان کے مفاد کر - اور ملک کے مفاد کو ان کی اس غلط ایجی ٹیشن نے نقصان پہنچایا ہے - اس کی کچھ نہ کچھ تلافی ہو سکے - آپ نے پچھلے اجلاس میں بھی اور اس اجلاس میں بھی یہ فرمایا کہ " ہمارا وہاں کے ایجیٹیشن میں کوئی دخل نہیں " اور ادھر ابھی ابھی آپ نے یہ بھی فرمایا کہ " ہم ان کی حمایت کرنے کے لئے تیار ہیں " - یہ عجیب سا مسئلہ ہے - ایک طرف آپ کہتے ہیں کہ ہم ان کی حمایت میں سب کچھ کرنے کو تیار ہیں اور ساتھ ہی کہتے ہیں کہ ہمارا کچھ دخل نہیں عجیب معصومیت ہے -

صاف چھپتے بھی نہیں سامنے آتے بھی نہیں
کیسا پردہ ہے کہ چلمن سے لگے بیٹھے ہیں

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

تو میں ادب سے عرض کرتا ہوں ڈاکٹر صاحب سے کہ یہ تو سب آپکا کیا کرایا ہے - جب معاملہ آپ نے خراب

دو ٹکڑے ہو جائیں - تو وہ ان تمام اصولوں کو آج خیرباد کہہ دینگے جن کے لئے وہ زندگی بھر لڑتے رہے ہیں - آپ بھی آج اس کی اجازت دینے کو تیار نہیں ہیں کہ جموں کو کشمیر سے جدا کیا جائے - گو چھ مہینے پہلے آپ اس کے لئے تیار ہو گئے تھے - اس لئے صاف ظاہر ہے کہ جہاں تک شیخ عبداللہ اور جواہر لال کا تعلق ہے ان کے سامنے وقار کا سوال نہیں ہے غور تو فرمائیے کہ کہیں یہ معاملہ دوسری طرف تو نہیں ہے - یہ وقار کا سوال کہیں آپ کو تو پیش نہیں آ رہا ہے کیونکہ ایک طرف تو آپ علی‌الاعلان کہتے ہیں کہ پریشد کی تحریک غلط ہے - آپ کہتے ہیں کہ جموں میں جو کچھ ہو رہا ہے اس سے ہندوستان کو نقصان پہنچ رہا ہے اس سے دشمن کو فائدہ پہنچے گا اس سے ہندوستان اور پاکستان کے سوال کو حل کرنے میں نقصان ہوگا - انٹرنیشنل اسفیر میں نقصان ہوگا - یہ آپ سب کچھ کہتے ہیں اور مانتے بھی ہیں - اور دوسری طرف آپ جو اس ایجیٹیشن کو ایک اشارے پر واپس بلا سکتے ہیں - واپس بھی نہیں بلاتے ہیں - تو اندازہ کیا جا سکتا ہے کہ اگر اس معاملہ میں کہیں وقار کا سوال ہے تو وہ کہاں ہے کہا ہے تو آپ خود ہی درست بھی کر سکتے ہیں - آپ نے اپنی اسپیچوں میں جو وہاں کی گئی ہیں یا باہر کی گئی ہیں، بہت زور دیا ہے وقار کے سوال پر اور بار بار آپ نے پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو اور شیخ محمد عبداللہ کو ایکیوز کیا ہے - ملزم ٹھہرایا ہے بلکہ اس بات کے لئے مجرم ٹھہرایا ہے کہ ان کے راستے میں وقار کا سوال آ گیا ہے ڈاکٹر صاحب آپ بزرگ ہیں - آپ عالم ہیں - میں آپ کے عقیدتمندوں میں سے ایک ہوں آپ کی قابلیت کا ہمیشہ معترف رہا ہوں - لیکن مجھے آپ کی یہ بات سمجھ میں نہیں آئی کہ جہاں تک شیخ محمد عبداللہ اور جواہر لال نہرو کا تعلق ہے ان کے سامنے وقار کا سول ہے - حقیقت یہ ہے کہ ان کے سامنے وقار کا سوال نہیں اصول کا سوال ہے - اصول تو یہ ہے کہ اگر وہ سارا ودھان لاگو کرتے ہیں کسی ایک ایجیٹیٹر کے کہنے سے اور جو فیصلے اس پارلیمنٹ نے کئے ہیں ان کو ایک طرف رکھکر کام کریں تو وہ اپنی ذمہ‌داریوں کو صحیح انجام نہیں دے رہے ہیں - ان کے لئے کہا جائیگا کہ انہوں نے اپنی ذمہ‌داریوں کو صحیح طور پر انجام نہیں دیا - اگر وہ آپ کے ساتھیوں کا دوسرا مطالبہ مان لیتے ہیں کہ جس طریقے سے ہندوستان کے دو ٹکڑے ہوئے اس طریقے سے جموں اور کشمیر کے بھی

[مولانا مسعودی]

اور کس کو ہے - آپ نے اس بات کو بار بار کہا ہے کہ ہم کو نیشنل معاملات میں ۔ وطن کے معاملات میں اور ملک کے معاملات میں وقار کو سامنے نہیں لانا چاہئے - تو آپ کو یہ محسوس ہونا چاہئے کہ یہ وقار کا سوال جواہر لال اور شیخ عبداللہ کے سامنے نہیں ہے بلکہ یہ سوال جن سنگھ اور مہا سبھا کے سامنے ہے جس جرات کے ساتھ آپ نے تسلیم فرمایا کہ پرجا پریشد کی باتیں قومی مفاد کو نقصان پہنچانے والی ہیں اسی طرح آپ پرجا پریشد کے ایجیٹیشن کے بارے میں یہ بھی فرما دیجئے کہ یہ غلط بات ہے - اس کو چھوڑ دو - باقی اگر کوئی ایسی باتیں ہونگی جن میں اصول کے ساتھ سمجھوتہ نہیں کرنا ہوگا تو ان کے متعلق بات کرنے سے کون انکار کر سکتا ہے ۔ ایک طرف ہماری ودھان سبھا اور پارلیامنٹ کا فیصلہ ہے - ایک طرف دفعہ ۳۷۰ ہے اور ایک طرف انسٹرومنٹ آف ایکسیشن ہے جس کے ہم اور آپ پابند ہیں - ایک طرف ہم اور آپ اس پارلیامنٹ کے فیصلے کے پابند ہیں اور دوسری طرف جموں میں کچھ بھائیوں کی یہ آواز ہے کہ ہند ودھان کی دفعہ ۳۷۰ کو توڑ کو دو - تو کیا ایسی حالت میں آپ یہ کہتے ہیں کہ جن لوگوں کو آپ نے اور اس عظیم الشان ہاؤس ہندوستان اور کشمیر کی حکومت چلانے کی باگڈور سونپ رکھی ہے - وہ ان لوگوں کے ساتھ سمجھوتہ کریں - شاید اس لئے کہ یہ آپ کے کہنے سے گمراہ ہوئے ہیں ہمیں ان کی عزت ہے - ہمیں ان کا ادب ہے - ہمیں بڑی ہمدردی ہے ان کی تمام تکلیفوں کے ساتھ - لیکن آپ ہی فرمائیے کہ اصول کے ساتھ کس حد تک کمپرومائز کیا جائے - آپ نے منجملہ اور ارشادات کے یہ بھی فرمایا کہ کیوں کشمیر میں اب تک ان باتوں کو لاگو نہیں کیا گیا جو مرکز اور سٹیٹ کے درمیان طے ہوئی تھیں - جہاں تک میں جانتا ہوں ہو سکتا ہے کہ اسٹیج پر اور گیلری کے سامنے آپ مصلحتاً اس بات کو گوارا نہ کریں کہ آپ صاف صاف ایک حقیقت کا اعتراف کریں - لیکن یہ حقیقت ہے کہ جو دچھ جولائی سنہ ۵۲ کے فیصلے کے بعد تھوڑی بہت باتیں ہوتی رہی ہیں اور ایگریمینٹ کو عملی شکل دینے میں جو وقت لگا ہے - اس کی تفصیلات آپ کے سامنے ہیں - آپ سے کوئی چیز پوشیدہ نہیں ہے -

ایک بات پر آپ نے بہت زیادہ زور دیا ہے آپ نے کہا کہ پرجا پریشد کو کوئی بلاتا نہیں - کوئی ان کی بات سنتا نہیں - ڈاکٹر صاحب - کیا میں آپ کو یاد دلا سکتا ہوں

کہ جس وقت ہندوستان کی مرکزی حکومت کے اور جموں اور کشمیر اسٹیٹ کے درمیان یہ فیصلہ ہو گیا تھا کہ اب مہاراجہ کو ڈیپوز کر دیا جائے - اور اس کے بعد یووراج کرن سنگھ جی کو صدر ریاست منتخب کیا جائے - کیا یہ حقیقت نہیں ہے کہ پنڈت جواہر لال اور مولانا آزاد کی کنسلٹ سے اور شیخ عبداللہ کے مشورے سے یووراج کرن سنگھ جی نے پرجا پریشد کے صدر اور ان کے کئی دوستوں کو بلایا - تمام معاملات ان کے سامنے رکھے اور ان سے ڈسکشن کیا - اور میں تو کہونگا کہ بیسیوں باتوں میں ان سے مشورہ لیا اور یہ سب کچھ ہوا - اس کے باوجود بھی آپ کی یہ شکایت باقی ہے کہ ان کو بلایا نہیں جاتا تو میں تو صرف یہ ہی کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ یا تو آپ سے واقعات اور فیکٹس پوشیدہ رکھے جاتے ہیں یا جو باتیں آپ کے خلاف جاتی ہیں ان کو آپ ظاہر نہیں کرنا چاہتے - اور آپ کے نزدیک فیکٹ وہی ہے جو آپ کے معافق ہو - اور جو بات آپ کے خلاف ہے اس کو نہ دنیا کو دیکھنا چاہئے - نہ جاننا چاہئے اور نہ سمجھنا چاہئے -

ڈاکٹر صاحب ! میں آپ سے اس امر میں متفق ہوں کہ جموں اور کشمیر ایک ہیں - ان کو ایک رہنا چاہئے اور جب تک وہ ایک رہینگی تبھی تک وہ ہندوستان کا ایک مضبوط انگ بن سکتی ہیں - اور ایک ایسے مقام پر اپنا فرض ادا کر سکتی ہیں جو بہت ہی مخدوش اور بہت ہی زیادہ خطرناک جگہ ہے لیکن کیا میں آپ سے پوچھ سکتا ہوں کہ اس کو ٹکڑے ٹکڑے کس نے کیا -

آپ سے یہ کہا گیا ہے کہ فلاں ضلع بنانے سے مسلم پاکٹ بن گیا اور فلاں تھانہ یا تحصیل بنانے سے ہندو پاکٹ بن گیا - جناب والا ! میں ادب سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ محض قصے اور کہانیاں ہیں - ان میں کوئی حقیقت نہیں ہے واقعہ یہ ہے کہ ریاست کا ایک حصہ دشمن کے قبضے میں چلے جانے کے بعد اور سیز فائر لائن کھنچ جانے کی وجہ سے ایک ایسی صورت بن گئی کہ ایک تحصیل آدھی ادھر رہ گئی اور آدھی ادھر آ گئی ایک تحصیل کے کچھ گاؤں ایک طرف آگئے اور کچھ دوسری طرف چلے گئے - اب اگر ایک تحصیل کا ایک گاؤں ہماری طرف آ گیا تو کیا ہم ایک گاؤں سے ایک تحصیل بنا لیتے یا ایک ضلع بنا لیتے - جموں سے لیکر گلگت تک اس طرح سے ہوا ہے - اسلئے ہم کو نیا انتظام کرنے کے لئے کچھ ردوبدل کرنا پڑا - ہم کو کچھ حصوں کو بارامولا اور سرینگر میں ملانا پڑا اور اسی طرح صوبہ جموں میں پونچھ اور راجوری کے حصوں کو ملا کر ایک ضلع بنانا پڑا - لیکن ایک بات وہی کہ جو جموں کا حصہ تھا وہ جموں

[مولانا مسعودی]

میں ملایا گیا اور جو کشمیر کا حصہ تھا وہ کشمیر میں ملایا گیا یہ نہیں کیا گیا کہ جموں کے کسی حصے کو کشمیر میں ملایا جاتا اور کشمیر کے کسی حصے کو جموں میں ملایا جاتا -

اب رہی یہ بات کہ وہاں کچھ علاقے ایسے ہیں جہاں مسلم پاپولیشن زیادہ ہے اور کچھ علاقے ایسے ہیں جہاں ہندو پاپولیشن زیادہ ہے - آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ اس کی بنیاد کیا ہے اس کی بنیاد یہ ہے ڈاکٹر صاحب کے پورے صوبے میں مسلم پاپولیشن زیادہ تھی - ہر طرف ایک ہی قسم کے پاکٹ تھے - ان میں مسلمان بھی بستے تھے اور ہندو بھی بستے تھے - لیکن ایک طاقت آئی جس کے بارے میں کل بزرگ چٹرجی نے فرمایا کہ جموں کے پرجا پرشدیوں کو فرقہ پرست کہہ دینا ایک "بگ جوک" ہے - "بگ" انہوں نے اس قدر بڑے لفظوں میں کہا کہ پورے ہال پر لکھا ہوا وہ دکھائی دینے لگا - انہوں نے کہا کہ یہ ایک بگ جوک ہے کہ جموں اور کشمیر کی پرجا پریشد کو فرقہ پرست کہا جائے -

میں ان کے ساتھ جھگڑا نہیں کرتا - ممکن ہے ایسا ہی ہو - لیکن یہ بھی ہو سکتا ہے کہ نیشنلسٹ اور فرقہ پرست لفظوں کے جو معنی پچھلے ۱۰۰ سال سے آپ لیتے آئے ہیں ان میں ردوبدل ہو جائے - بہر صورت مسٹر چیٹرجی کے قول کے مطابق اس "نیشنلسٹ پارٹی" نے ضلع کٹھوعہ - ضلع جموں - تحصیل اودھم پور - تحصیل رام نگر اور تحصیل ریاسی میں بستے ہوئے ۵ لاکھ مسلمانوں کو - میں ایک واقعہ بیان کرنے کے لئے یہ کہتا ہوں - ورنہ میں یہ کہوں گا کہ پانچ لاکھ انسانوں کو تباہ کیا - قتل کیا - مار ڈالا - اور اتنا ہنگامہ مچایا کہ جو بچے کھچے تھے وہ پاکستان کی طرف بھاگ جانے اور پناہ لینے کے لئے مجبور ہوئے - اور اس طرح ایک ہندو پاکٹ تیار کیا گیا - یہ ۱۹۴۷ کی بات ہے - یہ ٹھیک ہے اور یہ آپ کو ظاہر ہی ہے کہ راشٹریہ سویم سیوک سنگھ اس فتنے کا انچارج تھا - لیکن کیا یہ تلخ حقیقت آپ نے باقی ان ساتھیوں پر ظاہر کی ہے کہ وہ پریم ناتھ - (پرسنلی میں بھی اس کی عزت کرتا ہوں اور آپ نے ان کی تعریف میں بہت کچھ ارشاد فرمایا وہ درست ہو یا غلط) وہ پریم ناتھ سنچالک تھے اس وقت - وہ راشٹریہ سویم سیوک سنگھ کے سنچالک تھے اور آپ جانتے ہیں کہ سنچالک کے کیا معنی ہیں - یہ وہ بھی مانتے ہیں اور میں بھی مانتا

ہوں کہ پانچ لاکھ انسانوں کو تہائی ضلعوں میں سے کن حالات میں دھکیل کر دشمن ملک کی طرف پھینکا گیا - یہ سب چیزیں آپ مانتے ہیں اور اس کے بعد اگر آپ اس پر ناراض ہوں کہ ہم ان کو نیشنلیسٹ نہیں سمجھتے تو ہم اس کو اپنی سمجھ کا قصور مانتے ہوئے اعتراف کریں گے کہ آپ درست کہتے ہیں - کوئی جھگڑا نہیں کریں گے - لیکن بات یہ ہے کہ حقیقت کو دنیا کے سامنے رکھ دیجئے اور پھر کہئیے کہ یہ شیخ عبداللہ اتنا برا انسان ہے کہ اس انسان کو یہ فرقہ پرست کہتا ہے جس نے کل پانچ لاکھ آدمیوں کو تہائی ضلعوں میں سے بھگا کر باہر نکال دیا اور جن میں سے چند ایک ہزار کو قتل کرایا - ان کی ماں اور بہنوں کی وہ تباہی کرائی جو اس وقت کئی جگہہ کرائی جاتی تھی - ان میں سے کئی جانیں وہاں ختم کرائیں اور مکان سب کے جلوا دیئے تو کون سی بری بات ہو گئی - جائدادیں لوٹ لیں تو کون سی بری بات ہو گئی - یہ سب باتیں آپ کہدیں اور پھر کہیں کہ ایسے آدمی کو فرقہ پرست نہیں کہنا چاہیئے تو میں مان لوں گا اور فرقہ پرست نہیں کہوں گا - کیونکہ فرقہ پرست لفظ پر کوئی جھگڑا نہیں ہے - فرقہ پرست انسانوں میں بھی بڑی بڑی ہستیاں ہیں - بڑے بڑے اچھے خیالات کی ہستیاں ہیں - لیکن میں کسی ایسے آدمی کو فرقہ پرست کہنے کے لئے تیار نہیں ہوں جس کے کارناموں میں، جس کی ہسٹری میں انسانوں کے قتل - خون - بےانصافیاں - سب کچھ لکھا ہوا ہے - اس کو میں فرقہ پرست کیوں کہنے لگا - فرقہ پرست لفظ اچھے اچھے آدمیوں پر بھی استعمال کیا جاتا ہے - وہ چاہے اس کو پسند کریں یا نہ کریں -

ابھی چند مہینے ہوئے جن سنگھ کی اور خود آپ کی ایک تقریر میں نے پڑھی تھی اور مہا سبھا ہمیشہ سے - مسلم لیگ ہمیشہ سے اس "فرقہ پرست" لفظ پر فخر کیا کرتی تھی - وہ فخر سے کہتی تھی کہ ہاں ہم فرقہ پرست ہیں تو کیا ہے - کیا ہوا اگر ہم ہندو ہیں فرقہ پرست ہیں - آج ایکدم کیوں یہ لفظ اتنا مردود ہو گیا ہے کہ ہمارے یہاں سے تو نکالا ہی گیا تھا آپ کے یہاں بھی اس کو جگہہ نہیں ملتی خیر - یہ تھے وجوہات جن سے جموں میں ہندو پاکٹ اور مسلم پاکٹ بن گئے -

تو جناب والا ! ڈاکٹر مکرجی نے فرمایا تھا کہ معاملہ صرف کانسٹی ٹیوشن لاگو کرنے کا ہی نہیں ہے کچھ اور سوالات بھی ہیں - تو میں

[مولانا مسعودی]

نے آپ سے عرض کیا کہ معاملے دو ہی ہیں - مطالبے دو ہی ہیں - ایک ان کا کانسٹی ٹیوشن کا ہے اور دوسرا تقسیم کا ہے - یہ دونوں معاملے اتنے اصولی ہیں کہ پہلے معاملہ میں سوا اس هاؤس کے اور کوئی تبدیلی نہیں کر سکتا - نہ پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو اور نہ شیخ عبداللہ - اور دوسرے معاملہ کو تو کوئی بھی تسلیم نہیں کر سکتا - کیونکہ ایک بار تسلیم کر کے ہم نے اس کے نتیجے دیکھ لئے - میں اس موقعہ پر ان باتوں کی طرف نہیں جانا چاہتا کہ جس وقت ریاست جموں اور کشمیر کی تقسیم ہو جائے گی تو باقی رہیگا کیا - نتیجہ کیا ہو گا - نہ میں اس حقیقت کی طرف جانا چاہتا ہوں کہ جتنے نعرے تقسیم کے لگائے جاتے ہیں یہ سب دھوکا ہے - لداخ کا نام بھی اس طرح سے لیا جاتا ہے کہ جیسے وہ بھی کوئی ایک ملک ہے - بڑی بھاری دنیا ہے - کروڑوں انسان اس میں آباد ہیں - کیا جناب والا میں آپ سے عرض کر سکتا ہوں کہ لداخ ایک ڈسٹرکٹ تھا - آج نہیں وہ حملہ سے پہلے ایک ڈسٹرکٹ تھا - جس کی تین تحصیلوں میں کل دو لاکھ کے لگ بھگ آدمی بستے تھے - سینکڑوں میلوں پر وہ بکھرے ہوئے تھے - ان میں سے سوالاکھ کے قریب بدقسمتی سے گلگت کی طرف اگریسر کے قبضہ میں ہیں - باقی رہ جاتے ہیں ۸۰ ہزار آدمی - ان ۸۰ ہزار میں سے کوئی تقریباً ۴۵ ہزار مسلمان ہیں - وہ ایک ٹکڑے میں رہتے ہیں اور کچھ ۳۶ ہزار کے قریب بودھ بھائی ہیں - وہ دوسرے ٹکڑے میں رہتے ہیں - دونوں ٹکڑوں کے درمیان جو راستہ ہے وہ ۱۶ دنوں کا ہے - اور اگر کوئی جانا چاہتا ہے تو برابر کھچر پر یا پیدل چلتے رہنے پر سولھویں دن ایک ٹکڑے سے دوسرے ٹکڑے پہنچتا ہے - پھر جو ۳۵ ہزار کے قریب ادھر رہتے ہیں وہ بھی سارے بودھ نہیں ہیں - پانچ ہزار مسلمان ہیں اور تین ہزار کے قریب عیسائی ہیں -

اب اس لداخ کا نام لے کر بڑے بڑے علانوں میں اور بڑی بڑی سرخیاں دے کر کہا جاتا ہے کہ لداخ ایک الگ تھلگ صوبہ ہونا چاہیئے خود مختیار اور آزاد اور نہ معلوم کیا کیا - لیکن میں آپ کی اطلاع کے لئے عرض کروں گا کہ ابھی جس وقت پرجا پریشد کی ایجیٹیشن شروع ہوئی تو وہاں کے اکریڈیٹیڈ لیڈر مسٹر کشک بکولا نے اعلان کیا کہ لداخ کو الگ کرنے مطالبہ سے ہمارا کوئی تعلق نہیں ہے - جب تک کشمیر ہندوستان میں ہے لداخ کشمیر میں رہے گا - یہ ان کا اعلان

ہے - خیر ؛ جو بھی ہو لداخ کوئی غیر مسلم صوبہ نہیں ہے - جموں کے بارے میں بھی تو یہی کیفیت ہے - آخر تقسیم سے پہلے کی اٹھارہ سے اُنیس لاکھ تک کی آبادی میں سے بارہ گیارہ لاکھ مسلمان ہیں - کیا محض اس لئے کہ انہیں فتنہ فساد کے وقت جھگڑا کر کے سیالکوٹ کی طرف دھکیل دیا اس وجہ سے ان کے حقوق تبدیل ہو جائیں گے - یہ وہ علاقہ ہے جس کو واپس لینے کے بارے میں کم سے کم میں اور آپ سب سے زیادہ متفق ہیں - اور یہ حقیقت چاہے اور کسی کی زبان سے نہ نکلتی ہو لیکن مسعودی اور مکرجی دونوں ہمیشہ یہ کہتے رہیں گے کہ ہم اس علاقہ کو واپس لے کر دم لیں گے - اور اس علاقہ میں اس وقت بھی ۸ لاکھ مسلمان ہیں - ان کو بھی تو آپ کو واپس لینا ہے - ان کو واپس لینے کے بعد جموں کے لئے یہ ہندو صوبہ کا تصور کہاں باقی رہ جاتا ہے - یہ تو ان بیچارے پریشدیوں کے لئے ایک دھوکہ ہے -

یہ بے انصافی ہے ان غریبوں کے ساتھ - بلکہ ان کے ساتھ یہ زیادتی کی جاتی ہے - اس ایجیٹیشن کے متعلق یہاں بہت ہنگامہ آرائی کی جاتی ہے - کہا جاتا ہے کہ ایجیٹیشن میں یہ نقصان ہوا - اتنے قتل ہوئے - یہ ہوا - وہ ہوا - ڈاکٹر مکرجی کی بات پر بحیثیت کولیگ کے ہی یقین کرتا ہوں اور آپ کو بھی مجھ پر یقین کرنا چاہیئے - ہم دونوں ہی اس ہاؤس کے ممبر ہیں - (جناب میرا یقین آپ کے ذریعہ ہے اور ان کو بھی مجھ پر آپ کے ذریعہ یقین ہونا چاہیئے) - تو جناب میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا ہوں اپنی پوری ذمہ‌داری سے ساتھ اس ہاؤس میں کھڑے ہو کر - چاہے ایک آدمی قتل کا شکار ہوا ہو یا کئی ہوئے ہوں یقیناً ہمیں اس کے لئے اتنا ہی صدمہ ہے جتنا ایک بڑی تعداد کے قتل ہوجانے کے لئے ہو سکتا ہے - لیکن تعداد مقتولوں کی صرف ۱۱ ہے - زیادہ نہیں - اور آپ نے بھی تسلیم کیا ہے کہ جو اطلاعات آپ کے سامنے ایجیٹیشن کرنے والوں کی طرف پھیلکی گئی ہیں ان کے پیچھے کوئی اتھارٹی نہیں ہے - مگر آپ نے فرمایا کہ جو سرکاری رپورٹیں ہیں ان پر بھی آپ شبہ کر سکتے ہیں - لیکن سرکاری رپورٹیں کم سے کم ایسی تو ہیں کہ ان کے پیچھے ایک اتھارٹی ہے - اور وہ سرکار ہے - ظاہر ہے کہ سرکار سے پوچھا جا سکتا ہے کہ جو کچھ آپ کی رپورٹ میں لکھا ہے وہ سچ ہے یا جھوٹ ہے - لیکن جو اطلاعات آپ کے پلس پہنچ رہی ہیں ان کی سچائی اور جھوٹ کس سے دریافت کریں گے - میں آپ کو

هاؤس میں نہیں دهرایا جا سکتا - سول لبرٹی اور کیا چاهتے هیں که جلسے هو رها هے اور کهڑے هو کر کہتے هیں که شیخ عبدالله کا خون چوسیں گے - اگر یه بهی سول لبرٹی نہیں تو کیسی هونی چاهئے - آپ پوچهتے هیں که ان اخباروں کو ریاست میں جانے سے کیوں روکا جاتا هے - کیا سول لبرٹی کے معنی یہی هیں که اخبار اس طرح بڑے بڑے جهوٹ بولیں - شاید آپ یہاں اس سول لبرٹی کو گوارہ کر سکیں گے - لیکن شیخ عبدالله ایک غریب آدمی هے - چهوٹے سے جهونپڑے میں رهتا هے - وہ سول لبرٹیز کے اس طوفان کو نہیں سنبهال سکتا اس لئے دروازہ بند کرنے پر مجبور هے - خود آپ نے فرمایا اور درست فرمایا که ڈوگرا قوم جموں میں ایک فوجی قوم هے - لڑاکا قوم هے * بهادر قوم هے * یہاں سے اگر کوئی چاهتا هے که ڈوگروں کو شیخ عبدالله کے خلاف اشتعال دلائے تو کیا شیخ محمد عبدالله اس کے لئے دروازہ بهی بند نه کرے - - ایک غریب آدمی جو آپ کی سول لبرٹیز کے طوفان کا مقابله نہیں کر سکتا هے - اس کو آپ اتنی اجازت بهی نہیں دیتے هیں که وہ اپنا دروازہ هی بند کرکے بیٹھ جائے - کم از کم اتنی اجازت تو دیجئے - یہاں بہت خوبصورت الفاظ بتاؤں که آج کل هو کیا رها هے - ابهی چند دن کی بات هے - شائد ایک هفته کی - "پرتاپ" اخبار میں پہلے صفحه پر چار کالم کی خبر اس بیلر هیڈ لائنس سے چهپی که شیخ محمد عبدالله کہتا هے که "میری تلوار اس وقت تک میان میں نہیں جائے گی جب تک میں اتنے کروڑ ڈوگرا نه قتل کر ڈالوں جتنے سنه ۱۹۴۷ع میں جموں کے مسلمان قتل هوئے هیں - اور ساته هی یه که بخشی غلام محمد کہتا هے که جیسے که اپنے زمانے میں مهاراجه گلاب سنگه نے لوگوں کی کهال اُتاری تهی اسی طرح سے میں بهی اُتارونگا" میں ڈاکٹر مکرجی سے پوچهتا هوں که آپ نے یه اخبار دیکها ؟

ایک آنریبل ممبر : کونسا اخبار -

مولانا مسعودی : پرتاپ اخبار - جو که جن سنگه کا ترجمان اور ماوتهپیس هے - اسی تاریخ اتوار ۸ فروری - اور پهر هم سے شکایت کی جاتی هے - ڈاکٹر صاحب نے فرمایا که وهاں سول لبرٹی نہیں هے - جلیاں والا ! اگر وهاں سول لبرٹی نه هوتی تو پهر وهاں پنڈت پریم ناتھ اور ان کے ساتهی ایسی تقریر کرتے جن کا کوئی حصه بهی شرم سے سر جهکائے بغیر اس

میں ڈاکٹر صاحب نے ساری چیزیں فرمائیں - فرمایا کہ ہم کو محبت ہے شیخ محمد عبداللہ کے ساتھ - کشمیر کے ساتھ - اور وہاں کی ہر ایک چیز کے ساتھ - لیکن جناب والا ! کیا میں ڈاکٹر صاحب سے پوچھ سکتا ہوں کہ کیا محبت کا مظاہرہ وہی تھا جو پانچ چھ دن پہلے اس نئی دہلی میں کناٹ پلیس سے لیکر کشمیر ایمپوریم تک جن سنگھ کے جلوس کی صورت میں دکھایا گیا - جس میں شیخ محمد عبداللہ اور بخشی غلام محمد پر گالیاں برسائی جا رہی تھیں - جس کی خبریں پاکستان پریس نے مزے لے لے کر چھاپیں - اور ڈان نے اس پر جو ایڈیٹوریل لکھا اس کا عنوان تھا ”شیخ عبداللہ دی ڈومڈ“ - یہ ہیڈ لائن تھی - یہ عنوان تھا - ایڈیٹوریل کا خبر کا نہیں - آپ نے شکایت کی کہ بار بار ہم کو گالیاں دیتے ہو - یقیناً ڈاکٹر صاحب اگر کوئی گالی دے یا کوئی سخت الفاظ کہے - تو آپ کو حق ہے کہ شکایت کریں آپ بزرگ ہیں - آپ ہمیں بتائیں کہ یہ الفاظ گالی بن جاتے ہیں اور یہ الفاظ تعریف بنتے ہیں - لیکن میں آپ سے پوچھتا ہوں کہ جن سنگھ نے جو کچھ یہاں کیا - دہلی میں جو مظاہرہ کرکے اپ کا الیکشن جیتا ہے کیا وہ پھول برسائے جا رہے تھے -

डा० एस० पी० मुखर्जी : आप भी तो भाषण देते थे ।

مولانا مسعودی : ان جلوسوں کے نعرے کیا ہماری تعریف کر رہے تھے - ہاں میں آپ کو مبارکباد دینا بھول گیا تھا آج میں آپ کو مبارکباد دیتا ہوں کہ آپ نے ایک سیٹ جیت لی - لیکن ڈاکٹر صاحب میں آپ سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ پرجا پریشد کی مدد سے -

माननीय उपाध्यक्ष : मुझे कहिये ।

مولانا مسعودی : جناب والا ! میں آپ کے ذریعہ سے ڈاکٹر صاحب سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جو سیٹ جن سنگھ نے جیتی اس پر بھی ہمارا احسان ہے - وہ ہمارے پرجا پریشدی بھائیوں کے نام کی مدد سے جیتی — مظاہرہ کیا گیا - نعرے لگائے گئے اور اس پر جعلی ووٹ لئے جس پر وہ فخر فرما رہے تھے - کیا یہی ہتھیار ہیں ؟

डा० एस० पी० मुखर्जी : हथियार तो आपके हाथ में हैं ।

مولانا مسعودی : اگر یہی راستہ ہے - یہی ڈیماکریسی ہے - اگر یہی وہ پروگرام ہے جس کو لے کرکے آپ ہندوستان کے سامنے آ رہے ہیں - تو یہ ہندوستان کی عوام کا کام ہے کہ وہ جج کریں ان چیزوں کو -

ایک اور بات پر بار بار زور دیا جا رہا ہے آج کل اور وہ یہ کہی جا

[مولانا مسعودی]

رہی ہے کہ جموں میں اس ایجیٹیشن کو جو مدد مل رہی وہ وہاں کے ان حالات کی وجہ سے مل رہی ہے جو عوام کے حالات ہیں - اور وہ مالی اور بیوپاری لوگوں کی تکلیفیں ہیں -

Some Hon. Members: He has already taken one hour.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is taking the Congress time.

مولانا مسعودی : میں جلدی ہی ختم کر رہا ہوں -

میں آپ کی وساطت سے جناب ڈاکٹر صاحب پر اور اس تمام ہاؤس پر ایک واقعہ ظاہر کرنا چاہتا ہوں اور وہ یہ ہے کہ اس ریاست جموں اور کشمیر کی طرف سے تجارت کے جو راستے تھے ان میں سے تقسیم سے پہلے جو سب سے بڑا راستہ تھا وہ راولپنڈی سے بارامولا کا راستہ تھا - دوسرا سنکیانگ سے لداخ ہوتا ہوا سرینگر تک کا راستہ تھا - ایک ایبٹ آباد کی طرف سے مظفرآباد ہوتا ہوا کشمیر کو جاتا تھا ایک جہلم سے میرپور اور پونچھ کو جانے والا راستہ تھا - گجرات کے پاس سے بھمبر کے راستے راجوری کو ایک اور راستہ جاتا تھا - اور ایک راستہ سیالکوٹ سے جموں کو جاتا تھا - ان تمام راستوں سے جو مال اندر جاتا تھا یا باہر جاتا تھا جموں کے راستے جانے والے مال کا حصہ اس میں روپیہ میں چار آنے سے بھی کم تھا - باقی ان تمام راستوں سے مال جاتا تھا - اور جب موجودہ سچویشن جو حملے کے بعد پیدا ہوئی اسکی وجہ سے صرف جموں کا ایک راستہ باقی رہ گیا - اصل میں باقی تو کوئی راستہ نہیں رہا - لیکن ایک راستہ ہم نے نیا بنایا اور وہ ہے پٹھانکوٹ سے جموں اور تمام اسٹیٹ میں جانے والا راستہ - جو ایک باٹل نیک اور واحد تنگ دروازہ ہے جس کے ذریعے تمام چیزیں ہندوستان سے جاکر کشمیر میں تقسیم ہوتی ہیں اور اسٹیٹ کی تمام چیزیں جموں سے ہو کر باہر جاتی ہیں - چاہے وہ لداخ ہو راجوری ہو یا پونچھ ہو یا کوئی دوسری جگہ ہو آج سب جگہ جانے کا راستہ صرف جموں سے ہو کر ہے - اگر آپ تھوڑی دیر کے لئے یہ بھی مان لیں کہ باہر سے آنے والی چیزوں کی کشمیر میں کچھ کمی ہو گئی ہے تو بھی میں آپ سے پوچھتا ہوں کہ اور کوئی علاقہ چلائے تو چلائے لیکن جموں کیسے چلا سکتا ہے - جموں ایک ایسی جگہ ہے جو کہ اس موقع پر بھی زیادہ سے زیادہ فائدے میں رہ سکتا ہے - اس کے فائدے میں رہنے سے کسی دوسرے علاقے کی حسد نہیں ہے - لیکن اگر فائدے میں رہتے ہوئے بھی پولیٹیکل اغراض کی خاطر اس طریقے سے چلایا جائے تو کم سے کم فیکٹس کو تو فیس کرنا چاہیئے اور ان کو سامنے رکھنا چاہیئے - آج کل صورت یہ ہے کہ اگر راولپنڈی ہے تو

جموں ہے - جہلم ہے تو جموں ہے - سیالکوٹ ہے تو جموں ہے - یعنی اب صرف ایک راستہ جموں ہی ہے - ایسی حالت میں جموں کو کاروبار کے مندے کی جائز شکایت کیسے ہو سکتی ہے -

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Presumably, the hon. Member has got much to say, but he has taken up sufficient time already.

مولانا مسعودی : اس کے باوجود ایک کمیٹی مقرر کی گئی ہے جو کہ سب سے پہلے جموں کے معاملات پر غور کریگی اور وہ ساری تکالیف پر غور کریگی- بیماریوں کی اکثر تکالیف کنٹرول کی وجہ سے ہیں - کنٹرول کی بیسیوں شاخیں ہیں - کنٹرول مکان اور دوکان کے ریلنٹ سے لے کر ادنیٰ سے ادنیٰ چیز تک پہنچتا ہے ان سب چیزوں پر وہ غور کریگی اور اس کے بعد اپنا فیصلہ دیگی - جناب والا ! یہ حالات ہیں جو کہ میں اس تھوڑے سے وقت میں آپ کے ذریعے اس ہاوس کے سامنے رکھ سکا ہوں-

ایک لفظ جناب میں اور عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں - باتیں تو بہت ہیں - لیکن ایک ضروری سی بات ہے ایکسیشن کی- بہت لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ اگر جموں کے لوگوں کے دل میں یہ اطمینان ہو جائے کہ ایکسیشن یقیناً ہندوستان کے ساتھ ہوگا تو پھر یہ نعرے وارے ان کو پریشان نہیں کریں گے - اور ان کے دل کو تسلی ہو جائیگی - حضور والا ! کسی کے دل کو تسلی یا تو گذشتہ ہسٹری سے ہو سکتی ہے یا موجودہ حالات سے ہو سکتی ہے - باقی رہ گیا آئیندہ کا زمانہ اس کے بارے میں کوئی رشی منی بھی نہیں کہہ سکتا کہ کیا ہونے والا ہے - آج وہ کونسی ایسی چیز ہے جس کی وجہ سے یہ خطرہ محسوس کیا جاتا ہے کہ ایکسیشن نہیں ہو گا - ایکسیشن ایک بنیادی سوال ہے - باقی کونسا محکمہ مرکز کے ہاتھ میں سرینڈر کیا جاتا ہے اور کونسا محکمہ اسٹیٹ کے پاس رہتا ہے اس سے کوئی فرق نہیں پڑتا - ایکسیشن نام ہے لوگوں کے ارادے کا - ایک قوم کے فیصلے کا - اور اس قومی فیصلے کی بیک گراونڈ دیکھ لیجئے - جموں اور کشمیر کی پچھلی بیس سال کی سیاست دیکھ لیجئے - وہاں کی سیاسی بیک گراونڈ ہمیشہ کانگریسی بیک گراونڈ رہی - لیگی بیک گراونڈ نہیں رہی - ابتدا سے ہی لیگ کی لیڈ کو جموں اور کشمیر نے قبول نہیں کیا - اور جنتا اور نیشنل کانفرنس ہمیشہ لیگی مطالبے کے خلاف رہی - اور پھر جس وقت دشمن آ جاتا ہے اور ہمارے سامنے تمام راستے کھلے ہیں کہ ہم جدھر چاہیں چلے جائیں - اس وقت بھی سیاسی بیک گراونڈ تھی جس نے جموں اور کشمیر کو ہندوستان کے ساتھ رکھا اور پاکستان کے ساتھ نہیں جانے دیا جب ایگریشن ہوا تو قبائلی ہزاروں کی تعداد میں آ کر لوگوں کے دروازے کھٹکھٹاتے تھے کہ چلو پاکستان کے ساتھ

[مولانا مسعودی]

تو کس چیز نے ان کو پاکستان کے ساتھ جانے سے روکا - اور پچھلی پانچ سالوں میں کوئی ایسا جلسہ یا کوئی ایسی میٹنگ ہوئی ہو تو بتلا دیجئے کہ جس میں قوم نے یہہ نہ دوہرایا ہو کہ ہم ہندوستانی ہیں اور ہندوستان کے ساتھ رہنا چاہتے ہیں - اتنا ہی نہیں جموں اور کشمیر کی نیشنل کانفرنس کے سالانہ اجلاسوں اور اس کے کنونشنوں میں پاس کئے گئے مطالبات آپ کے سامنے ہیں - اس کی بڑی بڑی تجویزیں اور رزولیوشن آپ کے سامنے ہیں - ان کو بار بار قوم نے پاس کیا ہے - پھر اتنا ہی نہیں جس جموں اور کشمیر اسمبلی کو آپ کے برخوردار اور ہمارے بھائی پرجا پریشد والے ماننے کو تیار نہیں ہیں - اس اسمبلی کے الیکشن کے منیفیسٹو میں ہندوستان کے ساتھ ایکسیشن کے علاوہ کیا بات تھی میں چیلنج کرتا ہوں پرجاپریشد کو اور کسی دوسرے شخص کو جو کہ شک کرتا ہو - ہمارا مینیفیسٹو یہی تھا کہ ہم کو وہی شخص ووٹ دے جو کہ ہندوستان کے ساتھ ایکسیشن کی تائید کرتا ہو - گو کہ یہ ایک بدقسمتی تھی - کہ اگر اس موقع پر کسی نے نیشنل کانفرنس کی مخالفت کی، تو وہ پرجا پریشد نے کی اور کسی نے نہیں کی - یہ ایک بدقسمتی تھی - لیکن یہہ ایک موقع تھا جب کہ قوم نے اپنا فیصلہ دیا - اب کہا جاتا ہے کہ اگر کانسٹیٹیوئنٹ اسمبلی یہ رزولیوشن پاس کر دے کہ جموں اور کشمیر ہندوستان کے ساتھ ایکسیشن کرتا ہے تو ان کو تسلی ہو جائیگی - تو ڈاکٹر صاحب - کیا یہی آخری شرط آج ٹھہری ہے - کیا اسی ایک بات پر فیصلہ ہونے والا ہے - تو لیجئے وہ بات بھی کر دی گئی ہے - وہ رزولیوشن بھی پاس کر دیا گیا ہے -

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: That is not part of the Constitution: Then that is all right.

مولانا مسعودی : یقیناً ڈاکٹر صاحب ابھی ۱۷ نومبر کو جب کہ کانسٹیٹیوئنٹ اسمبلی نے اپنا ایک اسٹیچیوٹ پاس کیا تھا - اس کے الفاظ یہ ہیں کہ اس ریاست کا صدر یعنی صدر ریاست وہ شخص ہو گا - جس کو اُمیدوار کے طور پر کوالیفائی کرنے کے لئے یہ لیجسلیٹو اسمبلی چنے اور جس کو ہندوستان کے راشٹرپتی منظور فرمائیں اور وہ ان کی منظوری کے تابع پانچ سال تک اپنے عہدے پر رہے گا - تو کیا یہ ہندوستان کے ساتھ ایکسیشن نہیں ہے پاکستان کے ساتھ ایکسیشن ہے - یہ کانسٹیٹیوئنٹ اسمبلی کا فیصلہ ہے یا کسی اور کا فیصلہ ہے - یہ تو ایک اسٹیچیوٹ ہے - یہ تو کشمیر ودھان کی سب سے پہلی دفعہ ہے - میں کہتا ہوں کہ اس کو کشمیر اور جموں کی کانسٹیٹیوئنٹ اسمبلی نے پاس کیا ہے - ایک رزولیوشن کی طرح نہیں بلکہ

ایک اسٹیٹیوٹ کی طرح کہ صدر ریاست ہندوستان کے پریزیڈنٹ کی منظوری کے تابع اپنے عہدے پر رہیں گے - تو ڈاکٹر صاحب - کیا پھر بھی آپ کو شک ہے -

جناب والا ! ایک ہے دنیا میں اعتماد اور دوسرا ہے بے اعتمادی - ساری دنیا اس بات پر متفق ہے کہ اعتماد سے اعتماد پیدا ہوتا ہے اور بے اعتمادی سے بے اعتمادی - اعتماد کیجیئے شیخ عبداللہ اور کشمیریوں پر - یہ تمام ہسٹری جو میں نے ایکسیشن کے بارے میں آپ کے سامنے رکھی ہے اگر آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ یہ بھی قابل توجہ نہیں ہے تو بھی اعتماد کیجئے اور دیکھئے . . . .

डाक्टर एस० पी० मुकर्जी : अभी जम्मू में डंडा और गोली पर विश्वास कीजिये ;

مولانا مسعودی : جی ہاں - ڈنڈا یہاں بھی چلتا ہے اور وہاں بھی - لیکن اگر راجستان میں چلتا ہے تو میں نے نہیں دیکھا کہ آپ نے اس طرح شور کیا ہو - اگر کسی اور جگہہ میں ڈنڈا گولی چلی ہو تو آپ نے اس کے خلاف وہ ہنگامہ برپا کیا ہو یہ میں نے نہیں دیکھا جو آپ آج کشمیر کے خلاف کر رہے ہیں - معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ میں ضرور کچھ نہ کچھ کالا ہے -

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order. order, Let there be no cross talks. (*Interruption*).

There are so many other occasions when these can be gone into in greater detail; Already the hon. Member has taken nearly 55 minutes.

مولانا مسعودی : جو جناب والا میں نے آپ کا بہت وقت لیا اس کا میں شکریہ ادا کرتا ہوں - آخر میں میں اس ہاؤس سے صرف یہی اپیل کر سکتا ہوں کہ اصولوں کو نظرانداز نہ کریں اور اس بیک گراونڈ کو نظرانداز نہ کریں جس کے درمیان میں سے کشمیر انٹرنیشنل افیئرس میں انڈوپاکستان افیئرس میں اور خود انڈوکشمیر افیئرس میں سے گذر رہا ہے - یہ نہیں ہونا چاہیئے کہ ایک ہاتھ سے پارلیامنٹ کوئی چیز ہتھیار سمجھ کر شیخ عبداللہ کے ہاتھ میں دیتی ہے تو پرجا پریشد دوسرے ہاتھ سے اس کو واپس لے آئے - ایسی چیز نہ ہندوستان کیلئے نہ پارلیمنٹ کیلئے - اور نہ ملک کیلئے ایک باعزت چیز ہو سکتی ہے -

ان حالات میں جناب والا ! میں صاحب صدر کے ایڈریس کے بارے میں پیش کئے ہوئے اس رزولیوشن کی تائید کرتا ہوں جو شکریہ ادا کرنے کیلئے پیش کیا گیا ہے -

(English translation of the above speech)

Maulana Masudi (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Chairman, today is the fourth day of the debate on the Motion of Thanks for the address delivered by the President in the joint-sitting of the two Houses of Parliament. In this connection many things have been discussed at great length. I would not touch those points. I would like to say something about the problem of Kashmir, to

[Maulana Masuodi]

which I have the privilege of belonging. Certain doubts and misgivings unrelated to facts are likely to be created in the minds of a large number of M. Ps. on account of the speeches of two hon. Members particularly who blew hot and cold in the same breath yesterday and today. But, before I reply to the points raised by the two hon. Members in regard to the agitation in Jammu and the Kashmir problem, I would, Sir, through you, like to draw the attention of the House to the background of the Kashmir question. The background of the Kashmir question is international, not only because of the fact that this question has been pending in the highest international Council of the world for the last five years, but also because the Kashmir question has for the last one or two months gained a new importance. In the eyes of the two power blocs, which are now making preparations for the third World War and are trying to rope in as many countries as possible in their respective blocs, Kashmir has extraordinary importance. Last two months have witnessed the inclusion of a new word—MEDO—in the encyclopaedia of the world. Medo or Middle East Defence Organization is being formed and ground is being prepared especially for the inclusion of Egypt and Iran in it. Those concessions which a year ago were not regarded even as worth looking at, are being readily offered to them. The problem of Sudan and Suez on account of which, a short time ago, the blood of Egyptians was shed and British troops occupied the Suez Canal Zone, as a conquering army would occupy a newly-conquered country, is being solved in the twinkling of an eye and all the demands of Gen. Naguib are being conceded. Dr. Mossadeq is also being humoured with no less vigour. But it is for roping in Pakistan in MEDO that the greatest efforts are being made. Can this fact be hidden from your view that "Pakistan plus Kashmir" or "Pakistan minus Kashmir" has the same value in MEDO. If Kashmir is not in Pakistan, will its inclusion in MEDO be as necessary and valuable as when it is? It is a fundamental question and it provides the international background to the Kashmir problem. I would request every Member of the House to keep this thing in view while considering this problem.

One should also not lose sight of the fact that the people, who have a large say in voting on and deciding the Kashmir question before the U.N.O. are those who are greatly interested in MEDO and the inclusion of Pakistan in MEDO. In their view, Kashmir has strategic importance. The common people believe that Kashmir has importance because of its orchards, lakes, rivers, streams, pleasant climate and high mountains, but in the eyes of MEDO, it is different. For MEDO Kashmir is important because the borders in Asia of China, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Tibet meet there. This importance of Kashmir should not be lost sight of and it should be borne in mind that it would have extraordinary importance in Asia in the coming war. This is a place, which can be converted into its strongest base and stronghold by any of the two parties occupying it and which cannot be easily attacked from without. Four guns installed on four mountains can protect the whole of the valley and the aircraft having their base there can exercise full control over any part of Asia. One should bear in mind that over Kashmir our struggle is not only against Pakistan, but against those people also who believe that Pakistan is an easy prey for inclusion in this or the other bloc. But India, on the other hand is a hard nut to crack.

So much, Sir, for the international background. There is another background to it and that is the Indo-Pakistan background. In view of certain things which have happened now and in view of certain past commitments and not on the grounds of reality, the claims of India and Pakistan over Kashmir are considered equal. We, Kashmiris, do not concede this. We regard only India's claim as right and deny the claim of Pakistan and are not prepared to accept it. But we have to face the fact that for the final solution of the Kashmir problem, our voice can be conveyed to the international sphere through you only and we cannot raise our voice separately. In any case, Kashmir is a State over which both Pakistan and India have a claim and it is a fact that it was on account of somebody's laxity, negligence, lack of comprehension and if I may be permitted to say so, on account of lack of wisdom, that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir State to India did not take place at the proper time and Pakistan was given the opportunity to launch a savage attack on Kashmir when it failed to win popular vote to grab it. That is why the accession took place and was implemented in very critical and helpless circumstances. Afterwards the Indian Army gave a fight to the invaders, but this fight was only half-completed. The result is that nearly one-third of the State as regards area and a little less than one-fourth of the State as regards population is still under the occupation of the invaders and is cut off from the rest of the State and from us. In spite of our claim that Kashmir belongs to India and is part and parcel of India, a part of it is held by the aggressor and this is being tolerated. We do not know when will this blot on this part of India which is there on account of the occupation of the aggressor, be removed. It should also be borne in mind that for the last four years, since cease-fire, the Government on this side and the Government on the other side have entered into dozens of agreements and have made dozens of announcements, that fighting would not be resumed and that the will of the people would be ascertained before coming to a decision. This fact must be kept in view.

There is a third background to this problem and that is the "Indo-Kashmir background". I feel pained to say so, because Kashmir is a part of India. These words should be used with respect to two different countries, but to convey my meaning and to describe the thing, an unlettered person like me cannot find apter words. Therefore I would request you to let me use this phrase. What is the Indo-Kashmir background? It is the constitutional relationship between Kashmir and the Centre and till the fate of the State is finally decided this relationship is based on three things. The first thing is the Instrument of Accession of 26th October, 1947 according to which the three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications were entrusted to the Centre and in which the clause was added that the final ratification of the accession shall be obtained from the people there when the conditions return to normal.

The second relationship which subsists between Jammu and Kashmir and the Centre is based on Article 370 of the Constitution of India. Under this Article the Constituent Assembly of India decided after prolonged deliberations that excepting the three subjects which, through the Instrument of Accession were entrusted to the Centre, the Indian Constitution would not apply to Jammu and Kashmir. All other measures excluding these three, shall be enforced by the decision of the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir and by nobody else. Along with this, under this Article, Jammu and Kashmir has not only been given the right to form its own Constituent Assembly, but it has also been conceded that the Constitution to be enforced in Jammu and Kashmir shall only be framed by the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir.

This is the second basis of the relationship between the Centre and the State.

The third basis is the arrangement, called by some as an agreement also, which was made five or six months back in July 1952. This arrangement was made between Jammu and Kashmir and the Centre and it was debated upon and approved by this hon. House. Afterwards this arrangement was placed before the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir, which approved it word for word.

Sir, these are the relationships between Jammu and Kashmir State and India. The Government, Constituent Assembly and all other institutions of Jammu and Kashmir are working on this basis.

Keeping in view the background of Jammu and Kashmir in the international sphere, in the Indo-Pakistan sphere and in the Indo-Kashmir sphere, one may ask how the support for this agitation, about which so much hue and cry is being raised and which has been extolled to the skies yesterday and today by two very experienced and learned Members of this House, can fit in with these relationships, because both the hon. Members have said that the demand of the people who are carrying on the agitation should be adjusted somehow and that they should be placated. But until you know what their demand is, you cannot reply. I will tell you what their demand is. The literature published and the announcements and speeches made by them are before you. The Parishad people have not even touched upon the things mentioned in the lengthy statements which have been or are being made here. I admit that the demand put forth by them is not their own demand and it is not the same which they used to put forth previously. Their new demand took shape when, six months ago, our friend Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee got a resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Jan Sangh which in effect said: "The Indian Constitution, in its entirety and word for word, should be enforced in Jammu and Kashmir, otherwise Jammu and Ladakh should be given the right to choose whatever path they like for themselves." I am glad to learn

[Maulana Masuodi]

today that Dr. Mookerjee has given up this demand. He has stated that he has withdrawn it. He has, of course, come back to the right path, but due to a wrong step taken, a step which he himself considers wrong, a mischief has been done, as a result of which my Parishad friends who follow his lead have been extremely misled. Setting aside all other things they have put forth but one demand, that either the whole Constitution should be enforced in the State or Jammu should be cut off and separated from Kashmir. All their slogans like "One Constitution, one President and one Flag" etc., and demands for this kind of rule or that, are based on the one demand that either the whole Constitution should be enforced there or Jammu should be separated from Kashmir. Today, Dr. Mookerjee states that he has washed his hands of it. Of course, he has done so because he was standing on the shore, but he should also try to bring those people back whom he entrusted to the waves after seating them in a boat, so that they should also be in a position to consider the matter dispassionately and make some amends for the mistakes so far committed by them and for the injury they have caused by their ill-advised agitation to their own interests and the interests of the country. He stated during the last Session and also in this Session that he had no hand in that agitation. But he also said that he was prepared to support them. This is a strange proposition. On the one hand, he says that he is prepared to go all-out in their support, but on the other he says that he has no hand in it. I would submit to Dr. Mookerjee that he is responsible for all this but he can retrieve the situation he has spoiled.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

In his speeches here and outside he has repeatedly accused Pandit Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah of letting the question of prestige come in their way. I am an admirer of Dr. Mookerjee's eminence and experience. but I cannot understand his remark that prestige stands in the way of Sheikh Abdullah and Pandit Nehru. The fact is that it is not a question of prestige but of principle. If, at the instance of an agitator they enforce the whole of the Constitution and set aside the decisions made by this Parliament they would not be discharging their responsibilities honestly. If they accept the second demand of his associates that Jammu and Kashmir should also be vivisected like India, they would be forsaking all those principles for which they have been fighting all their lives. Dr. Mookerjee is not prepared to let Jammu be separated from Kashmir, although six months ago, he was prepared for it. It is clear, therefore that so far Sheikh Abdullah and Jawaharlal are concerned, it is not a question of prestige for them. On the contrary, it might be the other way round and the question of prestige might be in Dr. Mokerjee's way, because while he openly says and admits that the Parishad movement is misguided and that the events in Jammu are likely to harm India and benefit the enemy and cause a set-back in Indo-Pakistan relations and in the international sphere, he is not prepared to withdraw the agitation, which he can do by just throwing a hint. It can be judged in whose way the question of prestige is a hindrance. He has repeatedly stated that there should not be any consideration of prestige in national affairs. He should realize that such considerations weigh not with Jawaharlal and Sheikh Abdullah, but with Jan Sangh and the Mahasabha. Just as he has taken courage to say that the activities of Praja Parishad are injurious to national interests, similarly he should declare that its agitation is ill-advised and it should be given up. If there are any other things which do not involve any compromise with principles, nobody can refuse to negotiate on them. We are bound by the decision of our Constituent Assembly and Parliament, by Article 370 and the Instrument of Accession. In these circumstances, can he suggest to those, whom he and this hon. House have entrusted with the Government of India and Kashmir to come to a settlement with those people in Jammu who demand that Article 370 of the Indian Constitution should be rescinded, probably just because they have been misled at his instance. We respect and honour those people and sympathize with them in difficulties, but could he suggest as to what extent a compromise could be made with the principle. Amongst other things, he made the objection as to why those things were not applied which had already been agreed upon between the Centre and the State. So far as I know, he may not think it advisable to put these things before the platform and the gallery and confess a fact. It is a fact, however. All the developments that took place after July, 1952 are before him in detail and nothing is hidden from him.

He stressedly said that nobody invited or heard the Praja Parishad. May I ask Doctor Sahib if it is not a fact that Yuvraj Karan Singh Ji, with the consent of Pt. Jawaharlal and Maulana Azad and with the advice of Sheikh Abdullah, invited the President of the Praja Parishad and some of his friends when the State and the Central Government had decided to depose the Maharaja and appoint him (Yuvaraj) the Sadar-i-Riyasat. He placed the matters before them and had also a discussion. He consulted them in several other things, and in spite of all these facilities he (Doctor S. P. Mookerjee) says that the Praja Parishad was never consulted. I would like to bring home to him that either the facts and incidents are concealed from him, or the things go against him, and, subsequently, he never wants to express them to us. Whatever is suitable to him, is a fact for him, and whatever goes against him, that he does not want to understand, nor would like to see nor know.

I agree with Doctor Mookerjee that Jammu and Kashmir are one and should remain one. And so long as these two are together, we see in them a strong part of India. These two, if kept separate, would be very dangerous and if kept together would discharge their duty happily; but could I ask him as to who divided it into parts.

He has been told that by the formation of a certain district a Muslim pocket would be formed and by the formation of some other Tehsil or Thana a Hindu pocket would crop up. Sir, I would respectfully submit that all these are mere tales and stories, based on unreality. The fact is that consequent upon a portion of our land being occupied by the enemy and the Cease-Fire Line being drawn, the position changed and it so happened that the Tehsil which was one unit previously was divided into two: a portion of it was occupied by the enemy and the other one was occupied by us. In this way some villages of a Tehsil fell to our lot while the other villages of the same Tehsil were taken by the enemy. What could we do in such a state of affairs? We would certainly not make a Tehsil or a district with one village. So, this very thing happened from Jammu to Gilgit, and we had to make some changes for the new set-up. We had to merge some villages into Baramulla and Srinagar, and, likewise, had to make a district by merging Poonch and Rajouri into Jammu Province. Yes, we followed one thing, no doubt: the part of Jammu was merged into Jammu and that of Kashmir into Kashmir, and not the other way round.

Now, that some parts are with Muslim majority and some with Hindu-majority? Does he know the basis of it? Doctor Sahib should know the entire province had Muslim majority and there were the same types of pockets in every direction, which were inhabited by Muslims and Hindus alike. But a force had its way through, and about that our hon. Chatterjee said yesterday that it would be a "big joke" to name the Praja Parishadites as communalists. He emphasized the word "big" and said that naming the Praja Parishadites as communalists was a big joke. May be, it may be so; I do not want to pick up a quarrel with him but this can only be possible if the connotation given to the words 'Nationalist' and 'Communalist' for the last 100 years, is now changed. Anyway, according to Mr. Chatterjee this 'Nationalist Party' erazed, murdered and killed 5 lakhs of Musalmans—nay, but for this fact, I would like to say human beings who inhabited Jammu District, Kathua District, Udhampur Tehsil, Ram Nagar Tehsil and Reasi Tehsil, and after putting an end to them, these people created such a harrassment that the remaining Musalmans fled towards Pakistan, and in this way a Hindu pocket was formed. This happened in 1947. This is a fact and you also know that R.S.S. was responsible for creating these troubles. But did he express this bitter fact to his companions also. Prem Nath—I know him personally and do hold him in esteem, and about whom he had praises, true or untrue that I need not tell you—was the organizer of R.S.S. at that time. And, he should know what an organizer means. Mr. Chatterjee and I do agree that it must have been a hell for those five lakhs of Muslims to leave their native places and go into the enemy-held areas. He agrees to all these things, and even after agreement he gets annoyed with us for the fact that we do not call that party a nationalist party. What should we do? Well, we say then that we are sorry for our own understanding; and let us stop the quarrel there. But the fact remains a fact. You may place a wrong thing before others and say that Sheikh Abdullah is a bad man, he calls Prem Nath a communalist, and says that he is the man who got two and a half lakhs of people harrassed and evicted from their native places and got some thousands amongst them murdered, got their mothers and sisters molested and did all the ravages that could be done; got houses burnt, lives finished and all

[Maulana Masuodi]

such allied things. Properties were looted and lives were killed, and still he says that such things do not matter. He says all these things and suggests to me that I should not call him a communalist. All right. I would not call him a communalist, as I do not want to take up a quarrel for a mere word. There have been great personalities with high and sublime thoughts even amongst communalists; but I am not even prepared to call him a communalist whose history has nothing to show but murder, fratricide, injustices and cruelties. Why should I use "Communalist" for such people when the word can be better and superbly used for very good people.

Only some months back I read a speech delivered by him in some Jan Sangh meeting. Mahasabha and Muslim League were so proud of the word "Communalist". They were proud to call themselves 'Communalists', but how is it that the word has lost its place in their usage now. These, however, were the reasons to have given birth to Hindu and Muslim pockets in Jammu.

Sir, Dr. Mookerjee said that there were some other problems other than the application of Constitution. I submitted to him that those were two different questions and two different demands, *viz.,* the first one was of the Constitution and the other one was of the division. These are fundamental matters and this House alone, neither Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru nor Sheikh Abdullah, can make any changes in the first one; and then nobody would like to approve of the second one, as we had very bitter consequences when we previously agreed to have division. I do not want to dilate upon the consequences that would follow the Division of Jammu and Kashmir nor do I want to ignore the apparent fact that the slogans of division are deceitful. Ladakh, too, is enumerated in this very category as if crores of people were living there. Sir, I may bring it to your notice that Ladakh was a mere district in pre-paid days and the total number of inhabitants in its three Tehsils was about two lakhs. They were scattered on hundred of miles, and, unluckily, ane and a quarter lakhs of those people towards Gilgit side are now under the aggressors. Out of the remaining 80 thousand, about 45 thousands are Muslims occupying one portion and the remaining 35 thousand are Buddhists occupying another portion. The distance between these two portions can be covered in 16 days, and a man wishing to travel from one portion to the other shall have to go either by mule, or on foot for about 16 days. Another thing; out of the 35,000 Buddhists on this side we have about five thousand Muslims and about three thousand Christians.

They make very big announcements and publish brilliant headlines about this place and say that Ladakh should be a separate province—independent, self-determined and what not. I would add it for his information that when the Praja Parishad agitation started, Mr. Kushak Bakola the accredited Leader of the people of Ladakh made a wide announcement that we were not at all entitled to demand the separation of Ladakh. His statement ran as follows:

"Ladakh is a part of Kashmir so long as the latter remains a part of India." Whatever be the position, Ladakh is not a non-Muslim province. Similar is the case with Jammu. The fact is that till partition the population of Muslims there was 12 lakhs out of a total population of eighteen to nineteen lakhs. Does it now mean that their rights would get changed for the mere incidence that they were pushed off towards Sialkot during the days of disturbances. This is an area for the recovery of which both of us stand agreed, most of us, in fact. No matter, others may not utter this truth, but Mr. Mookerjee and Masuodi if both will raise the voice that no rest be taken until the area is recovered. There are 8 lakhs of Musalmans in that area and we have to get them back; and what happens then to the idea that Jammu is a Hindu province. Is it not a *quag mire* for these poor Parishadites?

Things are misrepresented and a lot of injustice is being done to these poor creatures in the name of this communal agitation. It is said that so much loss was incurred in this agitation: so many lives were lost, so many people were killed and so on. I do believe Dr. Mookerjee as a colleague of mine and he, too, should believe my words. Both of us are the members of this House. (Sir, I believe him through you and he, too, should believe me through you.) Sir, I stand to convince you here in the House that we are equally shocked if it is one murder or, may be, so many murders, but the number of the murdered is only eleven, not more. You also know that the information received from the agitators is not based on any authority, while he said that he doubted even the Government reports; but let me say that Government reports, whatever they be, are based on some authority. Certainly the Government can be questioned for the truth or untruth in their reports, but how will you ascertain truth from the reports received. I will tell you what is happening at present. Only a week ago the *Pratap* published a news with its headline running over four columns in which it said: "'My sword will remain out of its sheath until it cuts the number of Dogra heads equal to those Muslim heads cut by Hindus in 1947 ......' says Sheikh Abdullah." It also said: "Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad Says: 'I will skin off those people just in the same way as Maharaja Gulab Singh did in his days.'" Sir, I would like to know if Dr. Mookerjee read these news.

An Hon. Member: Which newspaper?

Maulana Masuodi: Daily *Pratap*—the representative mouth organ of Jan-Sangh. The number is dated Sunday: 8th February. The complaints are made to us that Dr. Mookerjee said there was no civil liberty. Sir, if there were no civil liberty, could Pandit Prem Nath and his companions make the speeches the repetitions of which make our heads hang in shame. What else do they mean by civil liberty? They take out processions, hold meetings and declare openly that they would suck the blood of Sheikh Abdullah. What else do you call civil liberty? You say why the entry into the State of such papers is banned? Does civil liberty mean that newspapers should publish white lies? You may be able to put up with such newspapers, but Sheikh Abdullah is a poor man living in a small cottage and he cannot put up with this havoc in the name of civil liberty.

And so he is compelled to close his doors to these. He himself said, and rightly said, that Dogra race is a warriors' race, a martial race, a brave race. Right! But if somebody from this side wants to excite those Dogras against Sheikh Abdullah, should he not close his doors to him then. What a wonder! A poor man, unable to face the brunt of civil liberty is not even permitted to close the doors from outside for sitting comfortably inside. He said that they had a love for Sheikh Abdullah, Kashmir and everything belonging to Kashmir. But, Sir, could I ask Doctor Sahib if that very feeling of love was manifested by him while taking out a Jan Sangh procession from Connaught Place, New Delhi to Kashmir Emporium, some five or six days ago, in which abuses were showered on Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, and the news about which were flashed boldly by Pakistan Press. The *Dawn* wrote the leading article entitled 'Sheikh Abdullah the Doomed'. That was the title of the editorial, and not of a news item. Dr. Sahib complained that we insulted them many a time. I would like to tell him that he is entitled to make a complaint if any abuses or harsh words are used for him. He is an elderly man and we would, therefore, request him to tell us which words meant praises and which meant abuses; but I would like to ask him if all those demonstrations held and speeches made in connection with his election in Delhi were proper and decent.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: You also delivered speeches.

Maulana Masuodi: Did the slogans in those processions say something in our praise? Yes, I had forgotton to congratulate you and now I do so for the seat you have won, but I would like to tell you, Doctor Sahib, that the seat was achieved on the ashes of the Praja Parishad.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Tell me.

Maulana Masuodi: Sir, through you I would like to tell Dr. Mookerjee that he should be grateful to us for the seat won by Jan Sangh. That was won on the ashes of our Praja Parishad brethren who dropped down dead. Demonstration was held, slogans were raised and some votes were pocketed for which he was so proud to say that those were the weapons.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Weapons are in your hands.

Maulana Masuodi: If this is the way, the democracy, or the programme with which you are to lead India; the Indian people will have to judge you and your ways. These days very much stress is laid on the point that the agitation in Jammu is being nourished by the circumstances of the public there as those are the troubles that have got to be faced by traders and businessmen of that place.

Some Hon. Member: He has already taken one hour.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He is taking the Congress time.

Maulana Masuodi: I am about to finish. Sir, through you I want to express to the House and to Dr. Sahib that the biggest trade and business

[Maulana Masuodi]

route connecting Jammu and Kashmir to world outside before partition was *via* Baramulla-Rawalpindi. Second one was *via* Sinkiang-Ladakh to Srinagar. Third route was *via* Abbotabad-Muzaffarabad to Kashmir, fourth route was *via*. Jhelum to Mirpur and Poonch. There was another route carrying us to Rajouri *via* Bhimber near Gujrat. Yet there was another route from Sialkot to Jammu. These routes covered the in-coming and out-going goods, and out of these only about 25 per cent. goods came in or went out *via* Jammu. The other routes gave an outlet to goods manufactured in Kashmir. The present situation created during the post-raid period closed all the routes excepting that of Jammu. To tell you the truth, all the routes were closed, and that we constructed a new route, *i.e.*, *via* Pathankot to Jammu and to other parts of the State. Jammu is the only narrow inlet through which all the goods from India come into Kashmir and are distributed; and this very passage enables us to send goods from Kashmir to India. Be it Ladakh, Rajouri, Poonch or some other part of the State, the sole passage is *via* Jammu. Even if you take it for granted for a little while that all the goods coming into Kashmir from outside have run short, I would like to ask you why Jammu cries so much, no matter other parts make a cry to this effect. Jammu is the only place which is benefited most these days. No other part feels jealous of it from this viewpoint. But even after so much benefit if the cries are raised for some political ends, you should be prepared to face facts. The position is that Jammu is the most vital point; be it Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Sialkot or any other place, *i.e.*, the only route *via* Jammu remains with us now. How do you think Jammu has an occasion to make any complaint in this respect?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Presumably, the hon. Member has got much to say, but he has taken up sufficient time already.

Maulana Masuodi: In spite of all this a Committee has been appointed to consider first the affairs of Jammu and their troubles. Businessmen are often handicapped by the control. There are several branches of this control. It covers all the things from the rent of a house or a shop to any smallest thing. This Committee will consider all those things and give its own decision. Sir, there are the conditions which through you I have been able to put forth before the House in such a short span of time.

Sir, I want to submit a word more. There are many issues, yet the important one of those is the main one regarding the accession. Many people say that all these slogans will not trouble the people of Jammu if they are convinced that Jammu and Kashmir State will accede to India. And I am sure they will be convinced. Sir, you can convince a man either on the basis of past history or by the present affairs. Regarding the future, no sage or seer can tell you what is to come. What makes them fear today in regard to this accession? Accession is the fundamental question. Which department is surrendered to the Centre and which one is retained by the State is immaterial. Accession is nothing but a name given to the determination of the people, the decision of a nationality. And, have a look at the background of the national decision. Review the twenty-year old politics of Jammu and Kashmir. You will find that the political background has always been Congressite and not of the League. From the very start Jammu and Kashmir State never approved of the approach of League, and public as well as the National Conference always opposed the demand of the League. I may confess that this very background united us with India when the enemy was at our doors and when all the avenues were open to us: It was, therefore, we did not join hands with Pakistan. Thousands of tribesmen knocked at our doors and compelled us to join Pakistan. What kept us aloof? All through these five years, whenever any meeting or conference was held, our nation repeated the decision: We are Indians and want to be with India. Not so much only. You can peruse the annual proceedings of Jammu and Kashmir National Conference as also their demands in their conventions. All the big motions and resolutions passed by the nation as a whole are open to you. Yes, something more. What was there in the election manifesto of Jammu and Kashmir Assembly which his followers and our Praja Parishadite brethren were not prepared to approve? It was nothing but accession to India. I challenge the Praja Parishad and other people who doubt our intentions. Do not they know that our election manifesto asked only those people to exercise their power to vote who supported our move in acceding to India; though, unfortunately no other party but Praja Parishad opposed the National Conference on that occasion. That may have been a misfortune, yet that was the opportunity when our nation gave its decision. And now it is said that if Constituent Assembly passed a resolution that

Kashmir acceded to India that would convince them. I would like to tell Doctor Sahib if that would be their last condition, and if it is so, let them rest assured that that resolution also was passed.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: That is not the point. Your word should form part of the Constitution. Then that is all right.

Maulana Masuodi: Certainly, Doctor Sahib. Only on the 17th of November last the Constituent Assembly passed a Statute, which ran thus: "The head of this State, *i.e.*, Sadar-i-Riyasat will be the person who qualifies as a candidate, is elected by the Legislative Assembly, and is approved by the Rashtrapati of India; and he shall have to remain for five years on this post subject to the approval of the President." Does it not mean that Kashmir has acceded to India? Is it not the decision of the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir? This is a Statute; and forms the very first section of the book. I once again say that this has been passed as a Statute by the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir, which says that the Sadar-i-Riyasat will occupy the post on the approval of the President of India. What more is left to doubt, Doctor Sahib?

Sir, Trust and distrust are the two things reigning supreme in this world. There are no two opinions: trust begets trust and distrust begets distrust. Do trust Sheikh Abdullah and Kashmiris. This is the history of the accession, as I have placed before you. Even if you think that this does not need any attention, do trust and watch.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Do trust even after sticks and bullets are showered on people in Jammu.

Maulana Masuodi: Yes, Sir, stick rules everywhere. But I never heard you cry when it was used in Rajasthan. I never heard you cry so much as you did in case of Kashmir whenever such things happened. There is something black at the bottom, it appears.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Let there be no cross talks. (*Interruption*). There are so many other occasions when these can be gone into in greater detail. Already the hon. Member has taken nearly 55 minutes.

Maulana Masuodi: Sir, I am much thankful to you for giving me so much time. In the end, I would like to appeal to the House that the principle be not ignored and the background of Kashmir question be studied in the aspects, such as international affairs, Indo-Pakistan affairs and the Indo-Kashmir affairs themselves. This should not happen so that on one side the Parliament hands over something by way of a weapon into the hands of Sheikh Abdullah and Praja Parishad takes it back on the other. Such a procedure will not be respectable for India, Indian Parliament or the country as a whole.

Sir, with these words I support the motion of thanks for the Presidential Address.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat): We have had speeches of endurance tests in length and I hope that this House will bear with me at this late hour. It is unfortunate that at a time when in our country hundreds and thousands of people are suffering for want of food, I could not only speak on the food situation during the debate on the Presidential Address, because many points have been raised in the course of this debate which it is necessary for me to answer. I will not waste any time in answering the hon. nominated Member who spoke before me, because I feel that it will be difficult for him to follow what I will say. Since the time the national movement was on he was nowhere near us. He was far and far away with the British and it is their voice that he has reiterated here today. However, I will confine my remarks to the statements...... (*interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Velayudhan: Is it over, Sir?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Now that the House is in a sobre mood, I think I can continue. I will relegate my remarks to the Indian Plan which the hon. lady Member who is on the U.N.O. on behalf of India spoke on, over here. A few years ago we read a statement or a report saying that she had said in America that it was the country of her adoption. But I did not think her adoption had gone so far that she was also talking in the language of the adopted country's bigwigs. She talked of "iron curtain Countries" and "satellites of Russia". It was certainly not the voice of neutrality. Anyway, coming to the ques-

[Shrimati Renu Chakravartty]

tion of the argument which she put forward about the Indian Plan, the entire plea about its sincerity was that "it was a *bona fide* attempt to bring the two conflicting points of view together." I should like to ask, did we during the course of our national movement over try and bring Abysinia and Italy together, did we bring Franco, Spain and Republican Spain together, did we bring right and wrong together, those who are fighting for liberty and those who are aggressors together? It is on that basis that I will criticise what she has said. She has said that we stuck to principles while others abandoned them. Let us see how we stuck to the principles which we ourselves enunciated during the national movement. What were those principles? Those principles were that we stood solidly by all those who fight for freedom and for their independence. We stood by the demand to settle conflicts wherever they break out. We demanded that all outstanding disputes were to be settled by peaceful means; we demanded that imperialism should quit Asia. If that was so, has our foreign policy stuck to those principles? Let us judge it from those standards, not from any other standard. If the Soviet Union and China had insisted on having the Prisoner of War issue settled first one could have understood some hesitancy on our part. The Soviet Union and China have categorically stated 'let there be a *status quo* of the Prisoner of War issue, come on, stop war.' The Prisoner of War issue is to be relegated for future discussion. Does that go against our national tradition? Does a hearty support of that stand irrespective of all that has gone before, enhance our prestige or lower it? Does it stop human suffering or does it increase it? Is it the way of peace or is it the way of war? It is this very simple question that I put before this House. Mrs. Pandit,—I am sorry she is not here,—was very confident that India's prestige was very high. Let us see what that prestige is, and what it has led to. To our eternal shame, when Gen. Eisenhower was addressing the American Congress he justified his support to Chiang by citing the Indian Resolution. This is what he said:

> "They (Chinese communists) have recently joined with Soviet Russia in rejecting the armistice proposals sponsored in the United Nations by the Government of India. This proposal has been accepted by the United States and 53 other nations."

Consequently, he said there was no logic or sense in preventing Chiang from raiding the main land. To inculpate India further he explained he was therefore issuing instructions to the Seventh Fleet to withdraw. That is what the Indian Plan has led to. It has given a direct handle to Eisenhower's policy of setting the whole world aflame with war.

Now, not only did we not stand by all the traditions of our national movement, but I would also present to this House how it was that the Indian Plan was made acceptable to America—that was a point on which Mrs. Pandit was very silent. There were certain amendments which were proposed firstly by Eden and then they were further amended and only then they were acceptable to America. We are told that they were very minor amendments. We do not accept that point. These amendments were of a very basic character. The Indian Plan had proposed that the final issue of the Prisoners of War was dependent upon the Political Conference. But amendments were made by Eden and Acheson whereby the U.S. dominated United Nations, which is a party to the conflict, was to be the final arbiter of the P.O.W. issue. Naturally it cannot be and could not be accepted by Soviet Union or by China. That point was completely left out of the speech of Mrs. Pandit and therefore she naturally gave a distorted picture. I do not say anything further upon this point. The only point to be emphasised is whether the Indian Plan has properly carried out the principles which we enunciated at the time of the national movement, whether it has actually put first thing first, whether it has actually helped the ways of peace or whether it has actually helped towards the further intensification and spreading of war.

7 P.M.

About the Jammu and Kashmir question, I would like to say just a few words. There are certainly many genuine grievances of the people such as the unemployment problem, the problem of the Dogra Rajputs who were part of the Raja's Army and who are today unemployed, and also the problem of the agrarian land reform which is not being implemented in the right manner but is being implemented in a bureaucratic manner. These genuine grievances are being utilised by reactionaries for reactionary ends. The Praja Parishad agitation is camouflaged reaction. On this issue, the stand of my Party has been made clear, and I reiterate it. The aim of that movement is the return of the Maharaja, whatever may have been said to the contrary in this House this morning. It is the abandonment of the land reforms. Dr. Mookerjee was prepared to accept the land reform. He was prepared to accept that the Maharaja would not be brought back again. If that be so, why does he not fight for a change in the relevant clauses and Articles of the Indian Constitution? I have never heard him say anything on this point. It is quite clear that what he stands for is not certainly what he spoke this morning. This movement for complete integration, as they call it, is therefore a camouflage movement. It is a counter-revolutionary movement. But at the same time, we feel that the way to deal with it is not by bullets or by repression. The way to break the back of that movement is to pursue the land reforms more energetically and give those people who are demanding food and employment a chance to earn their living, which they so badly need. If you use bullets, it will only mean playing into the hands of the reactionaries. It is necessary that we should bring those who are now under preventive detention to open trial. Let there be an open trial and let the people concerned be told for what acts they are now undergoing punishment. Let the democratic forces which do not want the game of the reactionaries to succeed be given a chance. The Government must see that the grievances of the people are removed; that the landlords are curbed; and that the Maharaja is not allowed to incite the Dogras. So, what is required is the rallying of the people and the isolation of the reactionary communal leaders.

Then, I would just like to say a few words about the serious international situation. The imperialists are trying to divide Kashmir and make it a base for their war operations. The Praja Parishad people are playing into the hands of these imperialists. They say that they want to save Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan. Actually, however, they are giving Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan. Pakistan is today being made the base of the MEDO operations. The imperialists are trying to win her over and utilise her in favour of the Anglo-Americans. I would just like to say a word about a subject about which not a word has been said. Prolonged talks have been going on in the United Nations, and this has given a handle to the reactionaries. These prolonged talks, the uncertainties attendant upon them and the tension that follows—all these have given a handle to the reactionaries. Therefore, we from our Party would demand the withdrawal of the Kashmir issue from the U.N.O. Let us take the question and try to settle it between India and Pakistan settling this with all the other outstanding problems. Let there be no third party, utilising our differences—both external and internal—for their own ends.

Then, I come to the question of food. The President has said that there is a steady improvement in the food situation. I wish there were so. This is a dangerous under-statement, especially at a time when hundreds of thousands of people are unable to get their food. A very peculiar and new situation—I would not say new—but a very serious situation has arisen, in which we find that although there is a reserve of food, hundreds and thousands of people are unable to buy it. This food reserve has been built upon the hunger of the people and upon the loss of the purchasing power of the people. This point has not been mentioned at all in the President's Speech. How do we prove this factor of loss of purchasing power? You go to the ration shops and see. The offtake has decreased. People want food, but they are unable to buy it. We have seen that the demand for cheap grains has increased.

Today in various parts of the country people cannot buy rice or wheat at the price at which it is sold. They are, therefore, demanding millets or milo because they are cheaper in price not because they like it but because they have not got the purchasing power.

When we see the land transfers that are taking place, we see the growing impoverishment and pauperisation of the peasantry. In my constituency in Sunderbans in 1950 in Hasnabad subregistry office there were land sales amounting to 4,900; in 1951 there were 8,000 and from April to September 1952, in six months, there were 6,000 sales already. If we calculate on the basis of two bighas for each land transfer, a minimum total of 28,000 bighas have been transferred in the last three years. I can quote more instances. But there is no time for it.

In the background of this loss of purchasing power of the people we have to look to the question of the high prices. We are told that prices have come down. But when we look at the prices, we have to realise that it is not the fair prices that we have to take into consideration, but the black market prices. It is said prices have fallen; everything is O.K. and we are going along the path of paradise. At a time when people have lost their purchasing power, when unem-

[Shrimati **Renu Chakravartty**]

ployment has increased, when we find that except at a very few places the price of rice and wheat have not fallen beyond the fair price, then we realise that we are in a very serious situation. On the top of all that we find that fair price shops are being closed down on the plea that the offtake is less. We are told that prices outside are less than in the fair price shops. Sir, it may be so in one or two places. But these are seasonal changes. We also know that certain profiteers conspire to lower the prices below that of the fair price; then when the fair price shops are closed, prices again shoot up. I will give you an interesting example of one Babu Khan of Hyderabad. He is a big sugar dealer. He got about 40 lakhs as loan from the Industrial Finance Corporation—I speak subject to correction: if I am wrong I shall stand corrected. When sugar was being sold at Rs. 1/4/0, he started selling it at Rs. 1/2/0. Government sold out its stocks to him and then he started selling sugar at Rs. 1/6/-. Now that is the way one discredits the fair price shops and when one comes to the conclusion that there is no necessity for fair price shops, and when the fair price shops are no more there, profiteers have their opportunity and prices shoot up. These are some of the great difficulties of the people.

I will not go into the details of how prices shoot up. We know that on the floor of the House in the Madras Legislature this has been admitted. It has been admitted that in Madras prices have shot up in Tanjore, from Rs. 11/8 to Rs. 27/-. The same has happened in delta area Godavari and Kistna. The same is the case in regard to my own province of Bengal. I heard the hon. the Food Minister say that things are very bright in West Bengal, because there was a bumper crop. I would like to say here and now that especially in regard to the two major districts of Midnapur and 24-Parganas not one word has been uttered about the pests which have destroyed a huge part of the bumper crop. In the course of my tour, I found that where the Government calculation of the yield was six maunds per bigha, the actual yield was not more than three maunds. I found in bigha after bigha where there was not even one maund of rice which had been produced. In this situation in Bengal the levy system is being put into operation. This levy system is supposed only to take rice from those who have thirty bighas of land and more. But we find that when the levy is actually made, more and more is being taken from the small holders of land. In one particular place in Bailari of Rameshwarpur Union those who had small holdings of 30 bighas were levied 33 maunds. One of the biggest landlords who had 1,100 bighas was asked only for 100 maunds. I can give the House so many examples.

This method of taking all the surplus rice, which according to the logic of Mr. Kidwai is to play in the market and to keep the price down, is not going to be so. What are poor people going to do? Today when the harvest is in already, there are thousands and thousands of people who cannot find food; they have not the wherewithal to buy. What will happen? Already prices have started shooting up.

It is in these circumstances that the President says that the situation is improving. We are afraid that this complacency is going to lead us to very great disaster and therefore we are apprehensive of it.

With these few words I close and I thank you for the opportunity given to me.

Shri N. P. Damodaran (Tellicherry): The President's speech is blissfully vague about the reorganisation of States on linguistic basis. No assurance has been given, and no time-limit fixed for the early realisation of such States. The Address does not even indicate any possible steps that the Government contemplate to take for constituting States on a linguistic basis, except in regard to Andhra, although the people in other linguistic areas also have expressed their desire to be constituted into separate linguistic States. Even Andhra is not going to be a full-fledged linguistic State, as long as large Telugu-speaking areas of Hyderabad State are not going to be included in the proposed Andhra State. Our Prime Minister is very reluctant to dislodge the Nizam of Hyderabad from his position as Rajpramukh. Who in India wants the Nizam of Hyderabad to be the Rajpramukh of that State? It is only perhaps the Nizam himself, and our Prime Minister who want the Nizam of Hyderabad to remain in position as the Rajpramukh of that State. What is there to prevent the Nizam of Hyderabad marching the way the Yuvaraja and the Rajpramukh of Kashmir marched, except our Prime Minister's weakness for two gentlemen, the Nizam of Hyderabad and Sheikh

Mohammad Abdullah of Kashmir? The Prime Minister and our Government have got one code of conduct with regard to Hyderabad and another code of conduct with regard to Kashmir. The Prime Minister has of late been saying, both inside this House and outside, that the disintegration of Hyderabad into its natural linguistic components will upset the balance in the South. I am unable to understand what balance in the South is going to be upset by the disintegration of Hyderabad, except perhaps the balance and equilibrium of that unwanted institution of the Rajpramukh, that is, the Nizam. I feel that the greatest danger to the equilibrium and balance in the South is the retention of the Nizam of Hyderabad as the Rajpramukh and the non-dismemberment of Hyderabad State into its three natural and linguistic components. The Government and the Congress have put the demand for linguistic States in cold storage. Old promises have been forgotten and are occasionally remembered, only to be reminded of their breaches. The Hyderabad Congress gives us an opportunity to look into the working of the Congress mind.

The official resolution on linguistic provinces wants us to wait till the proposed Andhra State gets stabilised. The conditions pre-requisite for the stabilisation of Andhra as a State are denied to that. Only portions of the Madras State, that is the Telugu-speaking area of the Madras State are going to be constituted into an Andhra State. The Telugu-speaking areas of Hyderabad are quite out of the picture. The stabilisation of Andhra can only be problematic as long as the entire Telugu-speaking areas in India do not come within its ambit. Any calculation based on the workability of the State can only be due to the partial nature of its constitution. Hence, the working of the Andhra State cannot be a fair index or standard to the constitution of other linguistic States. Furthermore, the right of other linguistic areas cannot be withheld owing to the formation of the Andhra State. Rather it should be accentuated. Otherwise, the same spirit of revolt that spread out in Andhra may create restive conditions elsewhere. In this context I remember the venerable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad administering a threat to the advocates of linguistic States at the recent Hyderabad Congress session. It reminds one of the land and language of the grand Moghul, but in a free and democratic India. Maulana Azad's threat at Hyderabad only strikes a discordant note. Almost as a challenge to the Maulana Saheb, the political atmosphere in the land is surcharged with the demand for linguistic States as is evident from the various amendments moved to the motion of thanks to the President's Address. It is increasingly becoming obvious that those who speak against the linguistic States are held in high favour and esteem by the powers that are. It has almost become a bait for high offices both in the Government and in the Congress hierarchy. It is equally true that ardent advocates of linguistic States, if found among Congressmen, are systematically being dislodged. Surprisingly enough, Kerala which had not to its credit a single member on the Congress Working Committee so far all through its struggle for freedom when towering leaders like Kelappan and Abdur Rahman fought envious battles for the national freedom, could now have two puny members there, whose only brilliant claim to that seat of honour is their chronic opposition to the formation of linguistic States.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is the hon. Member criticising the Government policy or the Congress Party?

Shri N. P. Damodaran: The Congress Party is in power. Therefore, I think I am right.

Now, much had been made out to show that the formation of linguistic States is a process of balkanisation. Nothing is more perverse. On the contrary, the real unification of India can be achieved only if linguistic States are formed. None of the States will be affected adversely by a rational redistribution of the country. As a matter of fact, the States in India came into being through the vagaries of their period of conquest and subjection by the British imperialists. Their perpetuation would only indicate a determination to continue the mistake. Now, the demand for linguistic States is only a demand for the readjustment of the existing boundaries of the States and is not fragmentation. The effect is only rational unification.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is occasionally referring to his notes.

Shri N. P. Damodaran: I may repeat that the process is not fragmentation or balkanisation but effective unification. If the Malayalam speaking areas of Madras State are added on to the existing State of Travancore-Cochin and an Aikya Kerala carved out, it can only mean unification and not fragmentation.

Shri Nambiar: Not with a Rajpramukh.

Shri N. P. Damodaran: Again if the Kannada speaking areas of Madras, Bombay and Hyderabad are added on to Mysore State and a Karnatac State formed, it again means only unification and not fragmentation. Similar is the case with Maharashtra. If the Marathi speaking areas of Bombay, Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh are added on and constituted into a State, that would only mean unification and not fragmentation. The bogey that the demand for linguistic States is a demand for the balkanisation of India, raised by the opponents of linguistic States cannot be taken seriously by anybody. United Kerala is the birthright of the Malayalee and the Malayalees will never rest until they have achieved it. I would earnestly request the Government to do the thing with grace. I hope that before the explosive conditions that we saw in Andhra are repeated in every place, the Government will see reason and concede the reasonable demand of the people.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member will have to close. I want to call one more hon. Member.

Shri N. P. Damodaran: I would like to say one word: there is no mention of foreign pockets in India. The President has not mentioned anything about the existence of foreign pockets in India. We have waited too long. We are all aware of the hardships of the people in these foreign pockets. In the present international situation we cannot tolerate the existence of foreign pockets in India which undermine national safety and security. Again, not a word of sympathy has been expressed towards the suffering Indians in Ceylon. That also is a drawback in the President's Address. The Indian nationals in Ceylon are not allowed to have their citizenship rights. Even their ration is denied They are not allowed to send their hard-earned money to their kith and kin in India. All these things find no sympathetic reference in the President's Address. There has been no instance in history of a neighbouring State being so cruel and hard to the citizens of a friendly State. It is almost incredible that small Ceylon should take hammer against India.

Shri Velayudhan: I think I am the last speaker (*Some Hon. Members. Today.*) on the President's Address from this bloc, from this side of the House. (*An Hon. Member*: Independent bloc.)

Shri Nambiar: Which bloc?

Shri Velayudhan: My own bloc.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is sitting in a bloc.

Shri Velayudhan: I was trying to understand the various points raised in this House during this four days' debate on the Presidential Address and I was waiting for an opportunity to speak a little earlier, a day before. But, you were only gracious enough to give me a few minutes' time, and that at the fag end of this debate.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member will have an opportunity to reply to every one of the points raised.

Shri Velayudhan: I had certain particular points to be mentioned here in the course of my speech; I shall now only confine myself to one or two. That is the position.

I very carefully followed the speeches from the Communist benches as well as from the other side. Let me first of all refer to the speech of the Communist Lady Member who spoke immediately before me. She was referring to certain things which, I must say, amused me and amused me a lot. She was telling that the Congress Lady Member Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit who spoke the other day was the adopted daughter of the United States. But, let me ask the illustrious Communist Lady Member whether she is herself, knowingly or unknowingly, the adopted daughter of some other country, perhaps Soviet Russia or China. Let me say that I do not want the daughters of India to be adopted by any other country. I want them to be adopted by their own brothers and sisters here. That is my point of view which I wish to place before the House.

The leader of the Communist party, Mr. Mukerjee was speaking about the foreign policy which our Prime Minister is following for the last four or five years. He said that he could not see any reality there. But was his speech able to give any reality on the foreign policy of his party. It was not only unrealistic but had an element of tutoring which perhaps belongs to another foreign agency. I have been following very cautiously the foreign policy being pioleted by the Prime Minister.

I have expressed in this House as well as in the Provisional Parliament.

not once but several times, that I upheld the foreign policy followed by the Prime Minister cent. per cent. I have never said anything against the foreign policy of the Prime Minister. It is a realistic policy, and I do not think that anybody who has got the security of India at heart can follow any other policy other than the one that the Prime Minister is following. Look at the map of the world from the Middle East up to Hong Kong, and then we can see how far our Prime Minister is correct in following this non-alignment policy. The best policy for this nation in this confused international political situation is a policy which will not leave India in the hands of any outsider. The main criterion in judging the Prime Minister's policy should be whether the enlightened self-interest of India is best served by it. We might have displeased the Russians. We are not perhaps liked by our friends the Chinese. We might not be liked by the U.S.A. or the English even. That does not mean that our foreign policy is a barren one. At any rate, we are following an open, a straightforward policy today. Has the U.S.A. come out, in spite of the Republican regime, with a positive statement that it will follow a particular type of foreign policy? Has the Soviet Union come out in the same way and said: "We will follow only this policy"? No. We follow a certain policy in our international relations because it is right, we have so far upheld our self-respect. We have been able to plough through successfully in the field of international Power Politics.

What is the actual position of the countries in Asia today? They want more time for stabilisation, for building up their independence. Even our freedom is only four years old. Take the case of our sister countries like Burma, Indonesia, Philippines and Egypt which is in the Middle East area. If a war breaks out today and if any of these countries join any bloc, certainly their independence will be lost for ever. This is the crux of the policy of our Prime Minister. This point will have to be realised and appreciated not only by this Parliament, but by the Parliaments of most of the nations in Asia. The other day, we have seen in the press that the Egyptian Foreign Minister has sent an appreciation of our foreign policy in the Middle East area. In the same way, we have helped other countries also. The foreign policy of a nation cannot be built up within a day. How many centuries has Britain been following a foreign policy, but today she is in a confused state. In the same way, in U.S.A. there is not much difference between Democrats and Republicans in their foreign policy. Yet nobody can say what policy they will follow tomorrow. We do not want to support war. We want peace. This stand is interpreted by the critics as an idealistic approach and then for lack of reality. But even from the angle of political diplomacy in the self interest of the Nation which may be said as sheer opportunism the foreign policy of our Prime Minister is the soundest one as it is aimed at the continuance of our independence, for building up and stabilising Asian nations, not giving way to the foreigner, either for the white man or the Russian or to any other country. Why are we always advising our Chinese friends: "We stand with you. We want that you should get a place in the United Nations"? It is not because we want China not to join with the Communist bloc, not because we are afraid of communism, but because we are afraid that if Americans once again land on the Chinese mainland not only the Chinese independence but the independence of Asia as a whole would be endangered again. This is the real fear of our Prime Minister. Any sensible thinking Indian should have this fear. That is the reason why I say that the Prime Minister's Policy is a realistic one.

Another point I would like to touch upon is the question of linguistic provinces, which my hon friend raised. I was at no time an admirer of these linguistic provinces. I opposed it all along, and I wrote a thesis about it in 1946 or 1947.

Shri Nambiar: Thesis?

Shri Velayudhan: Yes. I have written a thesis about the linguistic provinces. The hon. Member evidently does not know what a thesis is. In 1947 when the Constituent Assembly was meeting I wrote the thesis, and I submitted it to my wife. I submitted it to the Constituent Assembly. I laboured over this thesis for about two or three months, and I felt that the formation of linguistic provinces was a great danger and a great reactionary move which will result in bringing the caste system back into the country in a ferocious form. If India is divided into linguistic States, the old Hindu caste system would rise again in a gigantic manner. It would also bring in communalism to oppress the weaker sections in the country. What about the Andhra State? I have got nothing against the

[Shri Velayudhan]

Andhra People. But whenever I go to Madras or any other Andhra city, the people who are Andhras say 'We had once Vijayanagaram Empire and Andhras were the rulers of that big State, we want again to be our rulers. Is that a progressive move? Many other areas also are demanding linguistic States. Everywhere the same is the cry. I know my hon. friends from the South may not appreciate my views on this question. But I feel that Kerala is a geographically compact unit, well-knit and well-organised area. Therefore there is nothing wrong in having a compact administrative unit in that area including the district of Malabar. It is not a linguistic State at all.

Shri Nambiar: Then what is it?

Shri Velayudhan: It is a State. So, this tendency of linguistic States is very dangerous. Anybody who tolerates this tendency for linguistic provinces in the country and encourages the movement for their formation would be doing the greatest harm to the unity of India. I am certain we would have to feel sorry that we have endangered the unity of the country if the country is bifurcated on the basis of language. Let us build a united India for our future generations. I have a solution. India should be divided into very smaller units for administrative purposes.

I want to speak a word about communalism, about which a lot has been spoken here in this House. I was wondering why this Kashmir agitation was strongly voiced in the Parliament. We have read about the agitation in the papers, and we have heard some speeches outside as well. I was wondering whether Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah were going to throw away Kashmir to Pakistan. Is it because of that, that there is an agitation from this side, from the Jan Sangh and the Praja Parishad, on this question? A degree of integration has taken place, and further integration will take place again. I do not think that there is any Indian here in this country, who is willing to give up Kashmir either to Pakistan or to any other country. We are all ready and eager to keep Kashmir with ourselves, and we have given a pledge to the people of Kashmir that we will keep Kashmir in our country. We are going to keep the Kashmir people with us. Therefore this misguided agitation today, is nothing but one of reactionary character. What is the historical background of Kashmir? For about 200 years, who were the rulers of Kashmir? The minority Hindus were the rulers. But now who are the rulers? Of course, the popular rulers there today are the Muslims. The ruling classes are slowly disappearing. Therefore the whole agitation today against Sheikh Abdullah's regime there and Pandit Nehru's regime here is an agitation in favour of that old ruling class in favour of that deceased class, in favour of that reactionary class which still holds some influence in Jammu-Kashmir area. That is why they get the support from India also from similar reactionaries. They are just reactionary Hindu communalists, and communalism of any brand is a dangerous thing. There is no point in merely saying communalism should be eradicated. Unless we root out Caste System, which covers the present structure of society in India, I do not think we can root out communalism. Gandhiji tried to erase it, but he was not given the chance to work for it even for a year.

I do not think there are any elements of Democracy in the Hindu social structure. Any Hindu in his blood is a casteist. That is why when the Prime Minister says that we want to stand for Democracy and we do not like communalism, people are interpreting that he is now going into the hands of Muslims. Dr. Khare, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, the other day said that Maulana Azad is ruling India. I was very sorry when I heard it. Who are the Muslims here in India? I feel they are a potential force for democracy in India. I do not want to take the Muslims away from India. They are a democratic force to the suppressed millions, to the untouchables of India. I had my association with Muslim friends, I had my association with Christian friends. I had my association with Hindu friends also, the highest among them. Somehow or other I feel that in the book of Hindu Society there is no trace of democratic feeling. Therefore, I always feel that the Muslims in India can make a great contribution to a Democratic social structure in the country, just like the untouchables, the exploited classes in India, who will contribute the mightiest force for a democratic set-up in the country. If anybody opposes the present democratic attempt of the Prime Minister of India, he is doing a great disservice to democracy.

Shri Nambiar: I see.

Shri Velayudhan: By doing that they are only inviting fascism in India. I do not think there is any difference between the Communists and the Communalists. The Communists are the most communal elements in India. I have come out of the Communist group. My State people know the whole history. In the recent elections we all supported them and they have come out triumphant there. But what about the recent Municipal elections?

Shri Nambiar: Is that a new thesis?

Shri Velayudhan: Why? Because they are communalists, they showed their communalism in its nakedness. Therefore, unless the Communists purify themselves, I do not think that they will have any place in India. I am saying this from the angle of the Communists. My humble opinion is that today India is having an explosive situation. We have to face it. How can we face it? Unless we have got a stable confidence and belief in the democratic set-up, I do not think that India's future is bright.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am sorry I am not able to call some other hon. Members also whom I promised to call. But it is impossible. The same thing will be repeated again in the budget and other discussions. Now so far as the general discussion is concerned, it is over and tomorrow after the question hour, I shall call upon the Leader of the House, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to reply, and then put the amendments to the vote of the House.

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Wednesday, the 18th February, 1953.